













# ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## NEW LIGHT ON OLD CAHOKIA

BY GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

The Venerable François de Laval de Montmorency, first Bishop of Quebec, after thirty years of prodigious activity devoted to the up-building of the church of Canada resigned his see in 1688 and was succeeded by the Abbé Jean-Baptiste de la Croix-Chevière de St. Vallier, chaplain to Louis XIV at Versailles. This excellent ecclesiastic, a man of undoubted piety and zeal, but of a meddlesome, head-strong temper and undiplomatic ways, was to prove himself a veritable storm-center in the troubled waters over which he voyaged during the greater part of his long episcopate. "After having spread something of terror everywhere throughout his diocese," the words are those of his sympathetic biographer, Msgr. Edmond Gosselin, "after having turned his episcopal Seminary upside down and interdicted the three principal directors of that institution, after having launched his thunders against a number of persons in full view of the colony, interdicted an entire convent of religious and caused their church to be closed for several months," he arrived in Paris on a summons from the colonial minister, Pontchartrain, and the Archbishop of Paris, to clear himself of the charges that had been filed against him by the discontented elements of his diocese. On this occasion Louis XIV made an unsuccessful attempt to induce his ertswhile chaplain, whom he personally revered, to resign his see in the interests of peace and take up his residence in Fance. The Grand Monarque, baffled by the redoubtable prelate, was content to let him return in quiet to his diocese, which he reached in the course of 1697. His stay abroad had been coincident with the ferment in ecclesiastical circles caused by

the controversy which had broken out between the Jesuits and the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris over the so-called Chinese rites. Feeling ran high and much was said and written on both sides which the more reflecting attitude of later years had reason to regret.

At his departure from the French capital, Bishop St. Vallier was counseled by no less eminent a personage than Noailles, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, to cultivate the friendship and good will of the "Gentlemen," as they were called, of the Foreign Missions, with whom he had previously been at odds, and who at this juncture were directing the diocesan seminary of Quebec. This no doubt excellent counsel the Bishop proceeded to act upon immediately on his return to Canada. With commendable zeal the Seminary clergymen were just then planning to extend their activities into two new fields of apostolic enterprise, primary education and the Mississippi Valley missions, and they applied to the Bishop for opportunity to realize their designs. The Bishop promptly acquiesced and he did so by calling upon the Jesuits to close their primary school in Quebec, conducted successfully by them for forty years, in order that the Seminary clergymen might open one in its place. Further, he committed to the Seminary clergymen a field of mission-labor which the Jesuits had understood to be their own by a solemn canonical grant from the hand of St. Vallier himself. These two measures the Jesuit Superior in Quebec at once protested, to the chagrin of the Bishop, who now displayed successive tokens of his displeasure. He forbade "declamations and tragedies" in the Jesuit College of Quebec, took from Father Le Blanc the direction of the Gentlemen's Sodality and forbade that organization to meet on Sundays. Finally, he appropriated without offer of indemnity a valuable Jesuit property in the Huron Mission of Old Lorette and turned it over to parish uses. In this last measure, in other measures of an unfriendly tenor taken by Bishop St. Vallier in regard to the Jesuits, the Superior of their College in Quebec, Father Bouvart, readily acquiesced, too readily, so it was thought by some of his confreres, who communicated to the General in Rome their opinion that a stand should be taken against what they judged to be the Bishop's arbitrary and aggressive attitude. The question of the Tamaroa Mission, which had just now been ceded to the Seminary priests to the prejudice, so it was alleged, of the prior rights of the Jesuits to the same field, seemed to be one in which appeal might in all propriety be made from the Bishop of Quebec to higher authorities abroad. Was there not, so it was felt, danger that acquiescence here might result in still further restrictions on their



missionary activities? Had not St. Vallier attempted to secure the support of the French episcopate for a new legislation, to be approved by Rome, in virtue of which missionaries of the religious orders were to be withdrawn from immediate dependence on their Superiors and placed at the beck and call of the Bishops? It was, therefore, apparently because broader issues were involved than the sacrifice of a petty mission-post that the Tamaroa question loomed so large before the Jesuits of Quebec. And so, eying the whole situation, it would appear, from an angle of self-defence, they sent their protest overseas to their Superiors in Paris, the missions of Canada being at that time attached to the Province of France. By the Paris Superiors the affair was soon brought to the immediate attention of the French monarch, Louis XIV, a quite legitimate step in those days of intimate union of Church and State. A far cry surely from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the gilded splendors of Versailles.

## II.

Meantime, the first chapter in the story of the Tamaroa Mission was being written into history. On May 1, 1698, Bishop St. Vallier issued in favor of the Seminary priests letters patent authorizing them to evangelize the Indian Tribes "on this side and that of the Mississippi River and along the entire length of that river and the tributaries discharging therein . . . without its being permitted to other missionaries of different bodies to make establishments unless with the consent of (the Seminary priests) in places where they shall be established or even in other places which they shall have chosen in agreement with us or our Vicar-Generals."

In this initial grant of powers no mention whatever is made of the Tamaroa Indians. The Pandora box containing the fateful name was still to be unlocked. The Seminary priests when they first took up with the Bishop of Quebec the subject of Mississippi Valley missions were seemingly without any knowledge of that interesting tribe or at least without any realization of the important relation it bore to their scheme of missionary enterprise. But within a few days of the issuing of the above cited document it became known to them that the Missouri River, "on which is the nation of the Panis (Pawnees) and others that have been given to the aforesaid Seminary," ran only six leagues (some fifteen miles) "from the said nation of the Tamarois." Therefrom they concluded that possession of this strategic point as commanding the entire valley of the Missouri and necessary

therefore to the success of their missionary plans should be expressly asked for from the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>1</sup>

For some or other reason, probably because St. Vallier was absent from Quebec, this question of an extension of the faculties already accorded to the Seminary seems to have first come before Bishop Laval, the saintly retired founder of the Church in Canada, who was himself deeply interested in the Seminary project and actually engaged in setting it on foot. Solicitous not to give offense to any of the parties concerned, Laval thought it incumbent on him to ascertain first whether or not the Jesuits were already in possession of the Tamaroa post. To this end, and at the solicitation of Mr. De Montigny, who was to head the Seminary expedition, Henri de Tonti, "the man of the iron hand," appeared before the aged prelate to render testimony on this important point. No more interesting figure was just then to be found among the pathfinders of mid-continental North America than this son of an Italian nobleman, to whom the world owes the peculiar form of life-insurance known as the Tontine. Henri de Tonti's military career began in the Old World where he lost his right hand in an Italian campaign, but replaced it by one of iron, which he wielded with uncanny ease to the unfailing amazement of the Indians. Over them his ascendancy was supreme. By promises, by threats, by the sheer force of an engaging personality, he made his way successfully among the Mississippi Valley tribes, whose sympathy and support he gained for his various military and commercial projects. "It was enough to be in his company to be safe from insult," wrote one of the missionaries whom he was soon to accompany to the Lower Mississippi. Probably De Tonti's chief title to a place in history is to be found in his association with La Salle, whose faithful lieutenant he proved to be and whom, in conjunction with his partner, De La Forest, he succeeded in commercial control of the Illinois country. Unlike, however, his more famous associate, he knew how to deal with men; and an outstanding authority on colonial Illinois, Clarence Walworth Alvord, notes that he maintained pleasant relations with the Jesuits. This may have been true at an earlier period of his Illinois career, but was apparently not the case in the Tamaroa controversy. His attitude towards the Jesuits in this connection was one of opposition, identified as he was from the very beginning with the Seminary side of the controversy. According to Taschereau, whom it is difficult to credit in this statement, Father Bineteau, from a motive of resentment, turned d'Iberville, founder and first Governor of the Louisiana colony, against De Tonti with the



result that the latter received from the Governor the very disagreeable commission of going to Chicago and there putting under arrest and escorting to Fort Maurepas "an Englishman of Caroline," who had settled on the site of the future metropolis. At Paris in the Colonial Archives letters of De Tonti are still preserved in which he speaks of alleged Jesuit hostility to him and the Seminary priests.

It was, then, from this presumably unimpeachable authority on Illinois affairs, Henri de Tonti, that Bishop Laval now received verbal assurance that the Jesuits had no establishment whatever among the Tamaroa Indians. Moreover, the explorer informed Bishop St. Vallier by letter that for twenty years no Jesuit missionary had ever set foot in the Tamaroa village, one only excepted and he had not remained among them a full week. To clinch this testimony, in the absence from Quebec of Father Bruyas, Superior of the Canadian Jesuits, Father Germain, one of their number, went to Bishop Laval to assure him that he had no knowledge of a Jesuit Tamaroa mission, that "it was not on their list." Similar testimony, so it appears, was later rendered by Father Bruyas himself. Presumably reliable information that the Jesuits had no mission among the Tamaroa having thus been received by Bishop Laval and St. Vallier, the latter, on June 4, 1698, a date following by only fourteen days that of the first document, communicated new letters-patent to the Seminary clergymen, renewing their previous grant and assigning to them specifically the Tamaroa Mission. Somewhat later the statement of a *coureur de bois* to the effect that they had numerous neophytes among the Tamaroa was invoked by the Jesuits, while Father Gravier, Superior of the Illinois Missions, declared that his Jesuit associates in Canada, as being unacquainted with actual conditions in the remote West, had unwittingly misled the Quebec prelates in the information they furnished concerning the Tamaroa Indians. Gravier's own contention, as far as the meagre contemporary evidence on this head enables us to understand it, was, not that the Jesuits had actually occupied the Tamaroa post, but they had, so to speak, legitimately preempted it, as falling within the limits of the mission-field assigned them by the Bishop of Quebec in 1690.<sup>2</sup>

In the letters patent of June 4, 1698, issued in favor of the Seminary clergymen, Bishop St. Vallier declares that "on representations made to us that it may happen that other missionaries not of their body may desire in virtue of letters-patent previously granted them by us, to exclude them from the right of establishing themselves and setting up missions among the Indians known as the Tamarois, which

would be greatly to the prejudice of the missions of the aforesaid Superior and Directors of the said Seminary of the foreign missions of Quebec, considering that the localities where the above mentioned Tamarois reside are, as it were, the key and necessary passage to the Indians further on and facilitate access to the same; and as in consequence it is of great importance to the said seminary to establish residences and conduct missions in the said localities known as the Tamarois; we, desiring to remove every obstacle that might prevent the execution of the very praiseworthy enterprise which the said Superior and Directors of the said seminary have taken in hand to carry the Faith to the above mentioned lands, have permitted and do permit them by these presents to send missionaries of theirs to the so-called Tamarois Indians and to open among them such residences, establishments and mission-posts as they shall judge to be proper."

The body to which letters-patent had previously been granted was the Society of Jesus; and the document, dated December 15, 1690, is of the following tenor:

"Having recognized," says Bishop St. Vallier, "that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who are engaged in the conversion of the Indians of this country are engaged therein with all assiduity and take all the pains we can desire without sparing labor of life itself; and, in particular, as we knew that for more than twenty years they have been working in the mission of the Illinois which [tribe] they were the first to discover and to which Father Marquette of the same Society announced the Faith, beginning with the year 1672[1673], subsequently dying in that glorious occupation, which had been committed to him by our predecessor; and [knowing] that after the death of Father Marquette we placed in charge of it Father Allouez, also a Jesuit, who after laboring there for many years, closed his life, worn out by the excessive hardships which he endured in the instruction and for the conversion of the Illinois, the Miami, and other nations; and as, finally, we have delivered the care of this mission of the Illinois and other surrounding [tribes] to Father Gravier of the same Society, who has been engaged [in the work] with the great blessing of God upon his labors; for these reasons we continue and ratify what we have done and, altogether anew, we commit the mission of the Illinois and the surrounding [tribes] as also those of the Miami, the Sioux, and other [tribes] of the Ottawa country and towards the setting [sun] to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and we give to the Superiors of the said missions all the powers of our Vicar-Generals."

For its missionary enterprise in the Valley of the Mississippi the Seminary of Quebec sent out a party of four clergymen, the Reverend Messrs. François Jolliet de Montigny, Jean François Buisson de St.



Cosme, Antoine Davion and Thaumur de la Source, the last named being only in deacon's orders. He was to acquaint himself with the Indian languages with a view to returning later as a priest. Mr. de Montigny was Superior of the expedition with the powers of Vicar-General, from the Bishop of Quebec, and together with Mr. Davion contributed 4030 of the 10,000 livres (or some \$2,000) spent upon the venture.

The party included, besides, three lay-assistants (*frères donnés*) and two blacksmiths, the latter provided with all the necessary tools for building houses and chapels. One of the blacksmiths as also one of Mr. de Montigny's workmen had been associated with the brothers Charon of Montreal, who had conceived a plan not subsequently realized, of founding a religious community the members of which were to devote themselves as servants to the missionaries. Finally, M. de Tonti, now absent from the Illinois country for three years, had been prevailed upon to accompany the missionaries in the capacity of guide and introduce them to the Indian tribes as far south as the Arkansas. Besides the three canoes of the travellers, there was a fourth belonging to M. de Vincennes, who was on his way to the Miami and was to part from his companions of the journey at Kippikaivi, the modern Racine, Wisconsin.<sup>3</sup>

Setting out from Quebec on July 16, 1698, the Seminary party passed through Mackinac, Chicago and Peoria, at all which places they were received with cordial hospitality by the resident Jesuit missionaries. Mr. de Montigny, writing the following year to the Jesuit Superior at Quebec, Father Bruyas, has this acknowledgement: "We are under too many obligations to your Fathers for the kind reception they have been pleased to tender us not to give some expression of my gratitude. For your Fathers of Michilimackinac, of Pimiteoui [Peoria] and of Chicagou have spared no pains to make us welcome. I declare to you I have been highly edified by their zeal, though of a surety I do not believe that they can bear up much longer under the severe hardships which they endure; I believe that you ought either to tell them not to take so much upon themselves or at least to send somebody to share with them the toils of their missions. I speak in particular of the one of Chicagou and of Father Bineteau whom we found in Chicagou quite exhausted after the serious illness he had passed through."<sup>4</sup> From Mackinac Father Gravier, Superior of the Jesuit Illinois missions, wrote to Bishop Laval concerning De Montigny and his party, who took leave of that post on September 14:

We have welcomed with sincere and cordial joy those zealous missionaries of your seminary for foreign missions at Quebec, with whom we are happy to be so closely united. And, if we could feel the slightest regret at seeing strangers in the Akansea mission—where Father Marquette seems to have gone first in order to open the entrance to it for his brethren—we can but rejoice that they of your Seminary, Monseigneur, whom we look upon as true brethren and who allow us to share in the merits of their good works, should be pleased to labor for the conversion of the poor Akansea, and of the other nations who have not yet any knowledge of the true God.

I acknowledge, Monseigneur, that Father de Carheil and myself are charmed with the good judgment, the zeal and the modesty that Monsieur de Montigny, Monsieur St. Cosme and Monsieur Davion have displayed in the conferences that we have had together with the same openness and the same frankness as if we had always lived together; and we beg your grace to believe that we omit nothing that may confirm it. . . . He [de Montigny] did not give me time to compose a short speech in Illinois, as an introduction. Father Binteau [Bineteau], who knows the customs of the savages as well as I do, will do it better than I can. He, as well as Father Pinet at Chicagua, will do themselves the pleasure of rendering them every kind of service.<sup>5</sup>

At Chicago Fathers Pinet and Bineteau, as has been said, gave the travelers a welcome. "I cannot describe to you, my lord," so Mr. St. Cosme wrote to Bishop St. Vallier, January 2, 1699, "with what cordiality and manifestations of friendship those Reverend Fathers received and embraced us while we had the consolation of residing with them."<sup>6</sup> At Peoria, on occasion of the visit of the three priests, there was a Solemn High Mass, the first recorded in the history of the Mississippi Valley. A letter from the local Superior, Father Gabriel Marest, to a fellow Jesuit tells of their reception at Peoria.

Three Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary, sent by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish Missions on the Mississippi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them, so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our Missions [Chicago] we also fed two of their people during the whole of last winter. As these Gentlemen did not know the Illinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language, in order to help them to learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness.<sup>7</sup>



December 7, 1698, found the Quebec missionaries on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the Tamaroa village and on ground which is believed to be now within the municipal limits of St. Louis, metropolis of Missouri and the Southwest. Here on December 8, in the calendar of the Catholic Church festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the priests, apparently all three of them, celebrated Mass, the first religious services known to have been conducted on the site of St. Louis. Then, passing over to the other bank, under de Tonti's guidance, they visited the Tamaroa village where they conferred with the chief, most of the Indians being absent on the winter-hunt. St. Cosme's letter of January 2, 1699, a classic in the literature of early Western travel, narrates the incident.

On the following day about noon we reached the Tamarois. These savages had received timely warning of our arrival through some of the Kaoukias, who carried the news to them, and as a year before they had molested Monsieur de Tonti's man, they were afraid and all the women and children fled from the village. The chief came with some of his people to receive us on the water's edge and to invite us to their village, but we did not go because we wished to prepare for the feast of the Conception. We camped on the other side of the river on the right bank. Monsieur de Tonti went to the village, and after reassuring them to some extent, he brought the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so and on the following day, the feast of the Conception [December 8], after saying our Masses, we went with Monsieur de Tonti and seven of our men well armed. They came to meet us and led on to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and no sooner had we entered the cabin than the young men and women broke away a portion of it to see us. They had never seen blackgowns, except for a few days Reverend Father Gravier, who had made a journey to their country. They gave us food and we gave them a small present, as we had done to the Kaouchias. We told them that it was to show them that our hearts were without guile and that we wished to effect an alliance with them so that they might give a good reception to our people who would pass there and supply them with food. They received the gifts with many thanks and after that we returned to our camp.

The Tamarois were camped on an island [blank in Mss.] lower than the village, probably in order to obtain wood more easily than in their village, which is on the edge of a prairie and some distance away, probably through fear of their enemies. We were unable to ascertain whether they were very numerous; there seemed many of them, although the majority of their people were away hunting. There would be enough for a rather fine mission, by bringing to it the Kaouchias, who live quite near, and the Mechigamias, who live a little lower down the Mississippi, and who are said to be pretty

numerous. We did not see them because they had gone into the interior to hunt. The three villages speak the Illinois languages.<sup>8</sup>

Passing through Montreal, Mr. de Montigny had assured Father Bruyas, the Jesuit Superior, that the Seminary would not settle in any place already occupied by the Jesuits. He had occasion to prove the sincerity of his pledge when he declined the offer made by de Tonti to build the Seminary priests a chapel at Peoria. Moreover, it was the intention of de Montigny, so it is asserted by Taschereau, not to make use of the grant made to him of the Tamaroa Mission if he could possibly get along without that post. For this reason the missionaries, after a passing visit to the Tamaroa village, had pushed on to the Arkansas, where the real field of their labors was felt to lie. Here, however, they finally realized the necessity, already pointed out to them at Quebec, of the Tamaroa post as the key to the entire field of their missionary designs, especially as concerned the Valley of the Missouri.

Accordingly, in the March of 1699, Messrs. de Montigny and St. Cosme had returned from the lower Mississippi to the Tamaroa settlement.<sup>9</sup> Here the Indians, having returned from their winter-hunt and numbering all told about two thousand, some sixty cabins of visiting Indians included, gave welcome to the missionaries, presenting to them some Indian slaves "as a token of the desire they had for their establishment."<sup>10</sup> Preparations were at once made to organize the mission, Mr. St. Cosme being placed in charge as resident pastor. Then, on March 28, in company with Thaumur de la Source, who must have arrived among the Tamaroa only a short time previous, de Montigny set out for Chicago to bring back the luggage, which had remained there during the preceding winter, as it had been impossible owing to low water in the portage district to transport it. The journey was a trying one with repeated rains to add to its discomforts. The hired men of the party would have carried de Montigny, who became quite exhausted from fatigue, but the courageous missionary declined the proffered service and continued the journey on foot. At Chicago, which was reached on Holy Thursday, he met the local Jesuit missionaries, Pinet and Bineteau, whom he thought overburdened with work so that he was moved to write to their Superior in Canada urging that help be despatched to their relief.<sup>11</sup>

On Easter Monday, de Montigny, after spending only three or four days in Chicago, set out thence on his return journey to the Tamaroa. About forty miles below Peoria he met Father Bineteau and with him proceeded the rest of the way to the Tamaroa, the mis-



sionaries rescuing on the way two Missouri Indians from a band of prowling Winnebagoes.<sup>12</sup> The Tamaroa were reached on May 14, nearly seven weeks having elapsed since de Montigny had left this post for Chicago. In the interval Mr. St. Cosme, who had remained behind with two men to work on the mission-buildings, had not been idle. Thirty baptisms had been performed, a presbytery put up and the logs for a chapel cut and made ready for use. The raising of the log-chapel was the work of a day or two. "[The chapel] being finished," this is de Montigny's account, "we planted a cross with the greatest possible ceremony. All the Indians were in attendance; they showed a great desire to be instructed and become Christians and brought their little children that we might baptize them and give them a name." Shortly after this ceremony de Montigny, on May 22, departed from the Tamaroa to descend the Mississippi and take up his residence among the Taensa Indians.<sup>13</sup> The opening of the chapel and the raising of the mission-cross are of more than ordinary significance in the present narrative for they may be taken to mark the formal establishment or founding of the Tamaroa Mission, the date of which is accordingly to be assigned to the period May 14-22, 1699. Devotion to the Holy Family was just then a popular one in Canada and so the Mission received this title, a letter of St. Cosme's of as early a date as March 1700, being indorsed "*de la Mission de la Ste Famille des Tamarois.*"

The Tamaroa village was not settled exclusively or even principally by Indians of that name. The Tamaroa, some thirty cabins, numbered about one-third of the inhabitants, the other two-thirds consisting of Cahokia Indians, some sixty cabins, and a sprinkling of Metchigamia and Peoria. There were, besides, in March, 1699, sixty cabins of Missouri Indians temporarily settled with the Tamaroa. A contemporary estimate probably the most trustworthy now available, gives the whole number of Indians in the village at this date (March, 1699), including presumably the Missouri transients, as approximately two thousand. This is a lower estimate by a large margin than the one we find in a letter of Thaumur de la Source (April 19, 1699), who describes the village as being one of three hundred cabins, which was the largest Indian settlement he had seen in the West. As to the name Tamaroa as applied to the village, Mr. Bergier, the Seminary priest who is to figure so largely in our story, has these details. "Although the Tamarois are at present fewer in number than the Kaoukia, the village nevertheless retains the name Tamaroua, in French Tamarois, because the Tamarois were and are still the oldest inhabi-

tants and were the first to light a fire there, according to the Indian expression. Moreover, all the other nations who joined the latter, have not succeeded in changing the name of the village, but have been comprised under the name Tamarois, although they were not themselves Tamarois."<sup>14</sup> The Jesuit missionaries appear to have been the first to call the village by the name of its most numerous inhabitants, the Cahokia, a designation which Mr. Bergier resented, seeing in it, on what grounds does not appear, an attempt on the part of the Jesuits to impair the significance of Bishop St. Vallier's letters-patent, in which the Seminary clergymen were accredited specifically to the Tamaroa, no mention at all being made of the Cahokia Indians.<sup>15</sup> However, the Jesuit, Gabriel Marest, writing in 1712, speaks of "the village of the Tamarouas." But the name Cahokia is the one that survived in history and as such will be used freely in the subsequent course of this narrative.

### III.

We have seen that the grant made by Bishop St. Vallier of the Tamaroa mission-field to the clergy of the Quebec Seminary was protested by the Jesuits as an alleged infringement on their previously acquired rights to the same field. The Bishop's letter of 1690 guaranteed to them the liberty of working among "the Illinois and surrounding tribes." The Tamaroa were held to be an Illinois tribe. Certainly their language was an Illinois dialect and Father Bineteau was to prepare for the Seminary missionaries an address in Illinois to be used by them, presumably when presenting themselves to the Tamaroa or some other Illinois tribe.<sup>16</sup> Father Gravier, writing years before the controversy broke out, refers to the Tamaroa as an Illinois tribe.<sup>17</sup> De Tonti in 1700 describes the Tamaroa as belonging to the Illinois. So also d'Iberville, who founded the Louisiana colony in 1699, was to say at a later period: "the entire Illinois nation, of which the Tamaroa are a part, would naturally have to belong to the Jesuits. I have said so several times to the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions."<sup>18</sup> However, as far as can be ascertained, the Jesuits had not actually worked the Tamaroa field before the coming of the Seminary priests, apart from having made a few converts among the Indians of this tribe. Prior to the arrival of the latter in 1698, only two Jesuits, Father Marquette (so at least it would seem) and Father Gravier, had ever actually visited the principal Tamaroa village; and Gravier's visit, some time about 1695, lasted but a few days. Towards the end of 1698 Father Bineteau had visited a band of Cahokia who were camping on the banks of the Mississippi not far above the Illi-



nois River; and in January, 1699, he was looking forward to another visit in the spring to the Cahokia and Tamaroa, this time, it would appear, in their principal village. "I have recently been with the Tamaroas, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world—which, for this reason, we call the Mississippi or the great river. . . . I am to return to the Illinois of Tamaroa in the spring." <sup>19</sup>

Interesting in this connection is a letter of Bishop St. Vallier to Father Gravier, of date February, 1700, which reviews the grounds alleged by the Jesuits for their retention of the Tamaroa field. These grounds, as detailed by the Bishop, for no Jesuit statement on the subject is extant, were: (1) that Father Gravier had cultivated this field for more than ten years; (2) that he had made numerous journeys to the Tamaroa village, some times remaining there entire months; (3) that Father Bineteau had been on the spot before the arrival of Mr. St. Cosme. To these claims the Bishop made rejoinder: (1) that Father Gravier had at no time in no legitimate sense cultivated the field in question. "It is incomprehensible that one should describe as a mission cultivated for ten years" one in which "for ten years one has set up neither house, chapel, nor cross." (2) Father Gravier, so the Bishop has been assured (by de Tonti, as we know from other sources), was at the Tamaroa village only once, in or about 1695, and then only for two or three days, or four or five at the most. (3) Father Bineteau was at on time in the Tamaroa village before the arrival of Mr. St. Cosme, but had only visited a band of Cahokia in their winter quarters on the Mississippi River some twenty or thirty league above the Tamaroa settlement. At the time of Father Bineteau's visit, "all the Tamaroa were in winter quarters at one league and a half below the village; the chief of the Kaoukias with the greater part of the nation [was] four leagues below on the other side of the Mississippi River. All these were seen by our missionaries. Rev. Father Bineteau had not been in any of these places, nor on the Riviere des Canaux, where there was another chief of the Kaoukia with a number of cabins. Now, to speak in general terms, for a missionary to have been in a mission and make us believe that he has cultivated it, he must have remained some time in the village or in some of the principal winter quarters near the village, where the chiefs are living; he must not merely have been in some distant cabins accidentally joined to those of a different village. One would not call that taking care of a mission." <sup>20</sup> Whatever the title of the Jesuits to the Tamaroa post, it clearly did not rest on any actual

occupation of it. At the same time Father Gravier, it would seem, had long projected a mission in that quarter, as falling within the limits of the Illinois mission-district assigned him by Bishop St. Vallier. Further, he now decided actually to establish his men in that quarter, notwithstanding the recent cession of it to the Seminary priests; and he did this, we have every reason to suppose, in entire good faith, in the persuasion that the Bishop's grant of 1690 in his favor continued to be valid and might accordingly be safely acted upon, pending a settlement of the affair by the French Court, to which it had been appealed.

A notice, however brief, of Father Jacques Gravier, outstanding figure in the episode we are telling, must here find place. He was now forty-eight years of age had been on the American missions fifteen years, and had acquired remarkable proficiency in the language of the natives. His work among the Indians was noted with high praise in Bishop St. Vallier's above cited letters-patent of 1690, which charged Gravier, as we have seen, with the care of the Illinois missions, at the same time communicating to him as Superior of these missions the powers of Vicar-General. What Father Gravier had achieved for the Illinois missions is best told in the contemporary words of Father Gabriel Marest, his intimate friend and associate in that field of apostolic labor. "It is properly Father Gravier who ought to be regarded as the founder of the Illinois missions: It is he who first made clear the principles of their language and who reduced them to the rules of Grammar; we have only perfected that which he successfully began." And again Father Marest writes: "Nearly ten years ago Father Gravier laid the foundation of this new centre of Christianity, which he fostered with care and trouble beyond belief." The last years of this intrepid missionary saw him clinging to his post under circumstances that made him a veritable martyr to duty. Shot at by an irate Indian, he received in his arm a stone arrow-head which he carried with him to the grave. He never fully recovered from the wound, but after a journey to Europe to obtain recruits returned to America in shattered health, there to die on the mission-field which he had done so much to cultivate.

The actual occupation of the Tamaroa mission-field by the Society of Jesus was now to begin. Acting under instructions from Father Gravier, his Superior, Father Julian Bineteau, arrived at Cahokia on May 14, 1699, in company with Mr. de Montigny, there to begin resident missionary work among the Tamaroa Indians.<sup>21</sup> A native of La Fleche in France and now in his forty-seventh year, he had in



the earlier period of his career been employed in the colleges of his Order, filling among other posts that of professor of rhetoric at Nevers and Caen. Having reached America in 1691, he had seen eight years of service in the Indian missions, first among the Abenakis in the present Maine and subsequently at Mackinac, Peoria and Chicago. He came to know the Indians as well as Gravier himself, and Gravier was the outstanding missionary of the period. With the Seminary priests his relations appears to have been pleasant. De Montigny, meeting him in Chicago, gives him high praise and later, in June, 1699, notes in a letter from the Arkansas River that Bineteau does him the honor of writing him frequent letters from his mission nine hundred miles above.<sup>22</sup> But his arrival at Cahokia came as a surprise, and an unpleasant one, it seems, to Mr. St. Cosme, the resident pastor, who wrote to Canada that he foresaw "division" as a result of Bineteau's presence in the village.<sup>23</sup> He was surprised too, that Bineteau had left Father Marest alone at Peoria, for "on the testimony of the Indians themselves he is not in a position to keep up the mission." However, not to disedify the Indians, St. Cosme allowed Bineteau the use of his chapel for services for the natives.<sup>24</sup> No details whatever of his ministry at Cahokia are on record. In the oppressively hot summer of 1699 he accompanied the Indians on their buffalo hunt, probably in the Kentucky and Tennessee region, where the Illinois were accustomed to hunt.<sup>25</sup> Nearly smothered during the day by the tall grass of the prairies and chilled at night as he lay drenched in perspiration on the damp floor of the woods, he contracted a fever, probably pulmonary in nature, which broke his strength. Setting out from Cahokia to winter with his fellow-missionaries at Peoria, he died there in the arms of Father Marest on Christmas day, 1699.<sup>26</sup> (His death was a holy one, so the Jesuit Superior at Quebec was at pains to record. He was the first member of the Society of Jesus to die within the limits of what is now the State of Illinois.) "Father Bineteau," we are told by Father Gravier, "died there [among the Illinois] from exhaustion; but, "if he had a few drops of Spanish wine for which he asked us during his last illness, and some little dainties—such as sugar or other things—or we had been ablt to procure some fresh food for him, he would perhaps be still alive."<sup>27</sup> Corroborating this account, Father Bouvart writes that Bineteau's death was due to "excessive labor and excessive abstinence."

With the passing of Father Bineteau, the Tamaroa Indians were left for some months without ministerial aid, Mr. St. Cosme not being

able as yet to deal with them in their native language. The latter had been joined before the end of 1699 by Mr. Bouteville, a Seminary priest, who in the spring of 1700 began to descend the Mississippi, but receiving letters on the way from Mr. de Montigny returned to Cahokia. How long he remained there is not known. On February 1, 1700, Mr. Marc Bergier, another Seminary priest, together with "young" Mr. St. Cosme, a brother of the resident pastor and not yet in priest's orders, arrived at Cahokia.<sup>29</sup> In the incidents presently to be narrated Mr. Bergier was to take a foremost part. A memorandum in his own hand, dated August 13, 1699, supplies these personal data. "Marc Bergier, priest, Doctor of Laws, about 32 years of age, a native of Tein (?) diocese of Vienne in Dauphine. My father's name is Jean Jacques Bergier also a priest for some 28 years, that is to say, from within a short time of the death of my mother." The Seminary interests were safe in his keeping. On his death seven years later a Seminary priest, Mr. Tremblay, was to write that the Mission of Louisiana had need of a man "with beak and claws (*qui eût bec et ongles*) like Mr. Bergier and at the same time as moderate [*mesuré*] as he was."<sup>30</sup>

Mr. Bergier came now with the powers of Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec and Superior of the Seminary missionaries in the Mississippi Valley, relieving in both capacities Mr. de Montigny, who on leaving Cahokia in May, 1699, had descended the river to labor among the Taensa, an Indian tribe allied to the Natchez. De Montigny later moved his residence to the latter tribe, but left that post in May, 1700, to return with d'Iberville to France, where he hoped to secure an adjustment of the perplexing affair of the Tamaroa Mission.<sup>30</sup> On his arrival in Paris, which he reached in September, 1700, he submitted a report of unfavorable tenor on that missionary station. He estimated at 20,000 the number of Indians from the Tamaroa to the mouth of the Mississippi; but of these only a small proportion would be promising material for the missionaries to work upon. He advised the transfer of administration headquarters from the Tamaroa to the lower Mississippi, whence it would be possible to maintain direct communication with France. This was preferable to the indirect route by Canada, which was long, expensive and dangerous by reason of the hostile Indians along the way, besides bringing the Seminary into relations of dependence on the Jesuits. On the other hand the lower Mississippi was marshy and, as a result, unhealthy. The expenses of the missions ran high, exorbitantly so, though no unnecessary outlay was incurred; 2000 livres a year for



each missionary and for presents to the Indians "without which nothing is accomplished with the natives." Missionaries should be sent in pairs so as to dispense with hired servants or *dounés*, who show themselves "insolent" and are "the evangelical workers greatest cross." In view of the unfavorable report on the Tamaroa Mission submitted by de Montigny, it is astonishing, comments Taschereau, to see the Directors of the Seminary insist on retaining it. That they did so, he explains, was due to the wishes of Bishop St. Vallier, who saw in the presence of the Seminary clergymen among the Tamaroa a vindication of his authority.

As to Mr. de Montigny, he was not to return to America. The controversy, so it was said, had depressed and discouraged him. The Seminary Directors remonstrated with him, pointing out that his example would be ruinous to their American missions, that he would incur the reproach of fickleness and that no one would care to engage in a field of labor from which he had thus hurriedly withdrawn. But such representations were without effect. De Montigny insisted that he would go either to China, as a missionary, or to La Trappe. The Directors then offered to name him Superior of the Seminary of Quebec, where he might reside. Having declined this appointment, he was then admitted for the Oriental Missions. He left for the East in February, 1701, with the Msgr. Cicé, recently consecrated Bishop of Sabaula and Vicar Apostolic of Siam. Accompanying the latter to Pondicherry, he left thence for China where he joined Mr. Maignot and where he labored with successful zeal. In China he became secretary to Cardinal de Tournou and with his Eminence was exiled by the Emperor. Returning to France, he became Director of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris and this office he continued to hold until his death in 1725. In the story of Cahokia beginnings his name will be remembered, as it was under his supervision as Superior of the Seminary priests of the Mississippi that the Mission was originally laid out.<sup>31</sup>

#### IV

And now a successor to Father Bineteau as missionary to the Tamaroa was to be found in the person of Father François Pinet. On March 7, 1700, Mr. St. Cosme writes to Bishop St. Vallier that he was just then in receipt of a letter from Father Pinet in which the latter announces that he has been assigned to the Tamaroa and would shortly arrive among them. Two days later, March 9, he reached Cahokia with another Jesuit, Father Joseph de Limoges.<sup>32</sup> Mr. St.

Cosme expresses surprise that Father Pinet had abandoned Chicago, where on the latter's own admission there was work for two men and where his successor, Father Mermet, was as yet unacquainted with the language of the Indians. Furthermore, numerous stations in the north were left without missionaries, as those among the Potawatomi, the Outagami, the Mascoutens, the Kickapoo, not to mention that of "Milouaki."<sup>33</sup> Obviously in that remote period Chicago and Milwaukee were not names to conjure with, and to Father Pinet and his associates meant at the moment very much less than the wretched collection of Indian huts which men called the Tamaroa village.

A native of Perigueux in France, Father Pierre-François Pinet was now in his fortieth year. He had taught rhetoric in Perigueux and Pau and in 1694 with Father Gabriel Marest had come overseas to Canada.<sup>34</sup> From the first his personal virtue attracted attention and frequent notices of it are to be met with in the correspondence of the period. Father Cauchetiere, who saw him after his landing at Quebec, notes his "zeal and abnegation."<sup>35</sup> Father Gravier, his Superior, calls him a "saint" and Father Marest portrays him as "a very holy and zealous missionary."<sup>36</sup> At Mackinac, where he began his missionary career in 1695, he fell under the displeasure of the irascible Cadillac by denouncing roundly from the pulpit the prevalent traffic in strong drink and the resulting ruin to his Indian flock. At Chicago in or about 1696 he set up for his Miami converts the first chapel in the history of the city. Driven from this mission-post, which bore the name of "The Guardian Angel of Chicago," by Frontenac, Governor of New France, he was allowed to reoccupy it through the intervention of Bishop Laval.<sup>37</sup> And now at Cahokia he was again to give an example of strenuous, indefatigable toil in the service of the Indians. His "zeal and labors were so greatly blessed by God," records his companion-missionary, Father Gabriel Marest, "that I myself am witness that his church could not contain the multitude of savages who came to it in crowds."<sup>38</sup>

Not long after Pinet's arrival in Cahokia, in March, 1700, Mr. St. Cosme withdrew from the Mission, leaving Mr. Bergier as his successor in the care of the French. St. Cosme now took up his residence in Natchez, relieving Mr. de Montigny, who was about to or had already left that post for France. Six years later, in 1706, St. Cosme, while on his way to Mobile, was to perish at the hands of a band of Sitimachas Indians, probably near the present Donaldsonville.<sup>39</sup> He was born at Pointe Levis, near Quebec, January 30, 1667, and was ordained priest February 2, 1690, being the first native-born priest



of the New World, so it has been asserted, to lose his life at the hands of Indians within the limits of the United States. He was the second of the Seminary priests to die on the American Missions, Mr. Foucault, a Parisian, having also been murdered by Indians in 1702. "St. Cosme, accustomed to Indian corn and other native fare, stood the hardship of the mission better than priests from France, but his health at last gave way, and he was suffering from a cruel infirmity when he set out from Mobile."<sup>40</sup> Cahokia may well preserve the memory of him, for he was its first resident pastor, built its first church and, as far as we know, performed the earliest baptisms administered in that locality.

With Father Pinet there arrived at Cahokia, it will be recalled, another Jesuit, Father Joseph de Limoges. He was at this time but thirty-two years old, had been an instructor at Amiens, and had come to Canada in 1698. From Cahokia he was to descend the Mississippi in 1701 to open or continue a mission among the Houmas, near the mouth of the Red River. But it does not appear that he came down from Canada with this last-named destination in view. At his arrival in Cahokia he made known to St. Cosme his desire to plant the cross among the tribes of the Missouri River, especially the Osage, which the Jesuits were said to claim as their own ever since a band of these Indians had visited the Peoria mission in the August of 1699 and had there been fed by the Fathers.<sup>41</sup> For missionary enterprise in this direction, so Father Limoges was reported as saying, the Jesuits needed no further permission from the Bishop of Quebec or his Vicar-General. On the other hand, Mr. Bergier, charged as Superior with the missionary projects of the Seminary priests, was unable for lack of subjects to extend their field of operations. "We cannot send a missionary to the Panis or Panimahas for Mr. de Cosme does not want to go there, and, moreover, a mission is needed at Natchez."<sup>42</sup> Again, in May, 1702, Bergier writes: "The two principal missions where I should like to send [missionaries] if there were subjects and money, are the Cancez [Kansa] and the Panimahas [Loups] along the river of the Missouris. The Ozages are not so considered and the Missouris are almost reduced to nothing."<sup>43</sup>

Meantime, Mr. Bergier, whose unacquaintance with the Tamaroa language made it necessary for him to restrict his ministry to the French of Cahokia, found himself in excellent relations with his Jesuit neighbors. "I live on very good terms with this Father [Pinet] and with Father Limoges; they carry on their mission always with indefatigable zeal and there is no prospect of my taking it in hand

as long as they shall be here unless the Bishop or you should order me to do so.”<sup>44</sup> Almost at the same time Father Bouvart, Superior of the Jesuit Missions of Canada, was sending information of a like tenor to Rome. “Although we are in contention with the Gentlemen of the Seminary of Foreign Missions over a village of Illinois savages which they wished to take from us, we have nevertheless dealt with one another amicably and the affair has been handled in such manner that both parties live there together in peace.”<sup>45</sup>

## V.

And now a new development, to react immediately on the situation in Cahokia, was taking place. In the May of 1699 d'Iberville, having opened a direct route from France to the Mississippi, established at Biloxi near the mouth of the great waterway the first French post in Lower Louisiana. The event had its reverberations up and down the Mississippi. The Kaskaskia of the Illinois River among whom Marquette had set up in 1675 the Mission of the Immaculate Conception, earliest outpost of civilization in the Valley of the Mississippi, were tempted to abandon their ancient habitat and move south in the hope of finding protection from their enemies in the vicinity of the newly erected fort. Father Gravier, being on his way from Chicago to the mouth of the Mississippi, arrived among the Kaskaskia in the mid-September of 1700, too late, as he writes, to prevent the migration of the Indians. In company with Father Gabriel Marest, resident Jesuit pastor of the Kaskaskia, he journeyed with the Indians for four days, after which the two missionaries went on ahead to the Tamaroa village. Here Father Marest, who had fallen sick, remained, while Father Gravier, on October 8, pursued his way south.<sup>46</sup> Later, most probably before the end of 1700, the Kaskaskia moving down the Mississippi, halted, in all likelihood at the instance of the missionaries, at the outlet of what is now called the Des Peres River, the present southern boundary of the city of St. Louis, and there on the bank of the little stream made a new settlement<sup>47</sup> This quickly took shape, most of the French residents of Cahokia hastening across the river to throw in their lot with the new-born settlement. A fort went up and Father Marest, coming over from Cahokia, resumed his functions as resident pastor of the Kaskaskia. For the circumstances thus attending the origin of Missouri's earliest center of civilized or semi-civilized life, we are dependent, as our only source of information, on a letter of Mr. Bergier written from Cahokia to Quebec, April 13, 1701.<sup>48</sup>



1. The Kats [Kaskaskia] to the number of about thirty cabins have established their new village two leagues [five or six miles] below here on the other side of the Mississippi. A fort has been built there. Almost all the French have flocked thither.

2. The chief of the Tamarois followed by a few cabins has gone to join the Kats, drawn over by Rouensa, who makes large promises and gets himself believed when he says that he is called by the great chief of the French, as Father Maretz [Marest] has told him.

3. The rest of the Tamarois, composed of about twenty cabins, are to go very soon to join their chief already settled among the Kats. So there will remain here only the Kaoukias to the number of 60 or 70 cabins. They are now cutting the pieces for a fort.<sup>49</sup>

Efforts, to which Father Marest was said to be a party, had thus been made and with partial success to induce the Tamaroa and Cahokia Indians to move across the river to the new village. Among other motives for migration it was alleged that such was the desire of d'Iberville, the chief French agent in Louisiana. In the April of 1701 Rouensa, the Kaskaskia chief, sent as many as twentytwo pirogues, Indian boats made of long, hollowed-out logs, to bring over the expected emigrants en masse to the Des Peres. Fresh efforts were apparently made at a later period to attract the reluctant Indians. On the evening of April 1, 1701 (1702?), Mr. Bergier, visiting in a cabin near the presbytery, suddenly heard loud cries without. He rushed forth from the cabin to find Long Neck, the Tamaroa chief, haranguing the natives and urging them with all the resources of Indian eloquence to abandon Cahokia for the Kaskaskia village, which had won for itself among the Indians the alluring soubriquet, "the Land of Life," (*La Terre de la Vie*). On the other hand Chickagoua, another Tamaroa chief, showed himself indifferent on the question of the hour and declared it was all one to him whether his people stayed or went. Bribes from Rouensa were not wanting, "five hundred rounds of powder," and, "a cask when the French shall have come up from the sea." Mr. Bergier addressed the Indians, no doubt through an interpreter. "I saw that most of them regretted the land, which is of more account than that on the other side, and that they went over only as a result of the solicitations and presents." He called upon Father Pinet to attend a council of Indian chiefs, where efforts would be made to stop the migration, but the latter declined to co-operate and even suggested a scruple of conscience to Mr. Bergier, saying that the Indians, by going over to Marest's mission on the Des Peres would be converted, a result that would never follow if they remained in Cahokia. Finally, to hold his Indians, Bergier had

to lay before them counter attractions, "a kettle, four pounds of powder, a pound of colored glass-beads and a dozen knives." In this tug of war Mr. Bergier seems to have come off victorious. The Indians remained at Cahokia, nor is it anywhere on record that any later emigration swelled the original twelve cabins that deserted to Rouensa. Efforts to entice the French away from Cahokia were also made and even, if Bergier was correctly informed, by Father Marest, "who has forgotten nothing to draw them over, even interposing the authority of Mr. d'Iberville. I see myself, so to speak, interdicted in my mission as well in regard to the French as the Indians and reduced to the saying of Mass in my chapel with Brother [?] Brebaut and Pottier." <sup>50</sup>

## VI.

It was now going on two years since Bergier's arrival in Cahokia, during which time he had confined his ministry to the French, content to leave the Indians in the experienced hands of Father Pinet. At what precise time the latter was joined by Father Jean Baurie or Boré is not recorded. He seems to have succeeded Father de Limoges at Cahokia. At all events, before the mid-April of 1701 Father Baurie had left Cahokia for the Des Peres village, there to replace Father Marest, who had returned to his former post at Peoria.<sup>51</sup> Thence, however, Father Marest was to return to the Des Peres, probably before the end of 1701.

The division of the ministerial field at Cahokia, however satisfactory to Mr. Bergier in the beginning, was not to last indefinitely. After all, it was for the care of the Indians, not of the French who might be attracted thither, that the priests of the Seminary had settled among the Tamaroa. A solemn authorization had been obtained from the Bishop of Quebec, money had been expended and hardships endured with an eye to their evangelizing the Indians of the Mississippi Valley, the Tamaroa in particular. Consequently, the enterprise of the Seminary of Quebec centered at Cahokia meant an Indian mission or it meant nothing. The Jesuits were to be tolerated there in the care of the Indians, but only until such time as the Seminary clergymen felt themselves equal to the task. Bergier and Pinet had arrived at Cahokia within a month of one another. Approximately two years later a crisis occurred in the relations between the two as Bergier intimated to the Jesuit his intention to extend his pastoral care to the Indians resident in the village, at the same time enjoining on the latter to discontinue his ministry in their behalf. We have



already learned that Mr. Bergier held the powers of Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec and was accordingly equipped with all the necessary sanctions for upholding his authority. He therefore made known to Father Pinet that failure to comply with the injunction to cease from his ministry would result in an interdict being laid upon his chapel. Pinet replied that being a child of the Church he would obey if the injunction were put in writing. This Mr. Bergier proceeded to do, but, if we can credit his account, which does not seem to be free from exaggeration, both Father Pinet and Father Marest made light of the document as being replete with misrepresentations of fact. However, Bergier sent a copy of the document to Canada, while Pinet, in the face of the interdict, continued his work among the Indians and, he did so, to use Bergier's epithet, "vigorously." Each of the two rival churches, Pinet's and Bergier's, had its bell, which, rung by a native, now summoned the Indians to services morning and evening at the same hour. A disedifying situation surely, as Bergier observes, not to mention the village-talk of which the two pastors and their disagreement became the frequent topic. "For each is supported by his party; but Father Pinet," so Bergier writes naively, "has abler defenders than myself and in greater numbers."<sup>52</sup> It was a grievance, among others, of Mr. Bergier's that the Jesuit missionaries, who spoke the Indian language perfectly, refused to lend him aid in his own efforts to master it. This stand, so it was alleged, they decided to take, pending a definite settlement in France of the question at issue between them and the Seminary priests. Even on occasions when Pinet was unwell or absent and requested Bergier to replace him in his Indian chapel, he would stipulate that Bergier was merely to celebrate Mass and not to read aloud any prayers in the Indian language, which function it seems, the latter eventually felt himself competent to perform. These prayers Father Pinet preferred to leave to an Indian woman to recite rather than have them recited in public by Mr. Bergier. At the same time it will be recalled that the Seminary missionaries on passing through Peoria had received from the Jesuits resident there a catechism and collection of prayers in Illinois.

## VII.

In a letter endorned "Aux Tamarois, 15 Avril, 1701," Mr. Bergier informs his correspondent that "Father Pinet remains here right along pending the new order." The "new order" was anxiously awaited at Cahokia, but it was long delayed. Mail between Europe and the mid-Mississippi came in haphazard fashion and at painfully

long intervals. Mr. Bergier writes happily from the Tamaroa, March 19, 1702, "*feste de St. Joseph*," that on the day before a canoe from the sea brought him three letters, one from Paris, dated November 27, 1700, another of September 28, 1701, from de Tonty, Fort Biloxi, "*a la mer*," and a third of November 8, 1701, from Mr. Bouteville at Natchez. The canoe had been six months coming up "from the sea," while the Paris letter was some fifteen months making the long journey to Cahokia. Evidently the decision at the French capital on the disagreement between the Jesuits and the Seminary priests would not become known to the missionaries actually on the ground until long after the event itself. And now let us see what the decision was to be.

A conflict of claims to a mission-field in New France was evidently an issue recognized on all hands as being within the competence of the French court to adjudicate, Court and Government in France being at this period practically identical institutions, as both were merged in the person of that classic symbol of absolute rule, Louis XIV. The process for the Jesuit order was in the able hands of Father de la Chaise, the King's confessor, himself a Jesuit and an outstanding figure, though not by choice, in the dazzling kaleidoscopic life that circled around Versailles as its focal point. The Duc de Saint-Simon, contemporary chronicler of Court-gossip, touches him off in a series of epithets; he was "of mediocre mind, but of good character, just, upright, sensible, prudent, gentle and moderate, an enemy of unfairness and of violence of every kind." To this confessor of his Louis XIV one day broached the subject of the disagreement between the Jesuits and the Seminary over the Tamaroa. "All I know, Sire," Father de la Chaise is reported to have said, feigning to be completely ignorant of the trouble, "is that we are made to be driven out by these gentlemen. They drove us out of Tonquin and Cochin China and now they would drive us out of Canada." The story comes to us in roundabout fashion and we cannot easily vouch for its authenticity; but it lends point to the irritation felt at the time by the Jesuits over the Tamaroa dispute, following close, as it did on the more important controversy with the Society of Foreign Missions over the Chinese rites. The Jesuits felt the loss of this forlorn mission-post in the New World as keenly, so at least it seemed to a certain Seminary clergyman of the day, as they would have felt the loss of the tabernacle of their great church of St. Louis, which the visitor to Paris may still see in the Rue St. Antoine. It is only in the light of the unfortunate Chinese rites controversy that the historian fully understands why such an apparently trivial issue



as the rival claims to the Tamaroa mission assumed these grave proportions.<sup>53</sup>

When Bishop St. Vallier arrived in Paris towards the end of 1700 he presented to the French Court a Memoir accusing the Jesuits of wishing to contest his jurisdiction in the Mississippi country. Of his authority, so the Seminary historian Taschereau observes, the prelate was exceedingly jealous; and in the attitude of the Jesuits on the Tamaroa question he could see nothing else but an unwarranted infringement on his episcopal rights. They, on the other hand, as we pointed out above, saw in the Bishop's handling of the Tamaroa affair only an incidental move in what seemed a general policy on the prelate's part of unfriendliness towards the religious orders. An indication of such policy was probably to be found in the revoking (July 9, 1700) by Bishop St. Vallier of the faculties of Vicar-General previously granted to Superiors of Missions in the Mississippi Valley. Father Gravier appears to have ceased to be Vicar-General on this occasion, while three new appointments to the office were made by the Bishop, these being in favor of Messrs. de la Colombiere, de Montigny and Bergier, all Seminary clergymen and therefore secular priests. St. Vallier, so Tschereau writes, had thought it "more in conformity with the Church's order [practice] that [such] offices be held by ecclesiastics [secular priests] rather than by religious.

Meantime letters were being exchanged between Bishop Laval and Fathers de la Chaise and Lamberville, the last-named being the Paris Procurator of the Jesuit Missions of Canada. Lamberville writing to the Quebec prelate, April 1, 1700, petitions him to render justice to his brethren of the Mississippi country. He recalls to the prelate the kindly affection the latter had always shown towards the Society of Jesus and especially the service he rendered it seven years before by restoring to it the Mission of the Abenaki. He throws the blame for the present imbroglio on Mr. de Montigny, whose indiscreet zeal, so he declares, has been censured by Laval himself. Further, de Montigny had established himself at Tamaroa after having previously engaged not to do so, and had forbidden the Jesuits to exercise the ministry in that place. To these allegations Laval replies with the categorical statement that Binetau "of whom you speak to me, had never set foot in the place [i. e., the Tamaroa village] except after the Seminary missionaries had established themselves there. Marquette was there one day on his way to the Arkansas, Joliet being in his company." That Marquette visited the Tamaroa cannot be corroborated from other sources. While he does in fact indicate the

Maroa or Tamaroa on his holographic map of 1673-74, he makes no mention in his *Journal* of having visited the tribe, though one would scarcely urge this silence as conclusive evidence on the point in question. It may be conjectured that Laval named Marquette by mistake for Gravier, the only other Jesuit reported in contemporary records to have visited the Tamaroa before the Seminary priests. Continuing his reply to Lamberville, Laval deplores the dissension which the dispute had caused between the two missionary bodies, declaring that this consideration alone would have induced him to yield the Tamaroa post were it not considered indispensable. "Since you have been a witness of my sentiments and of the true and sincere affection which I have had for your mission of the Abenakis, where we have the consolation of seeing the missionaries of both houses visit one another frequently and live in close union, see that we are similarly obliged to you in the case of the Illinois and the Tamaroa." Writing at the same time (November 9, 1700) to Father de la Chaise, Bishop Laval, after qualifying as unfounded the assertion that there was any intention to drive the Jesuits away from the Tamaroa, adds that the whole affair "shows that while these missionaries are very good servants of God, they are not always self-restrained, their zeal being mingled at times with a bit too much of ardor." Some time previously, Laval, in a conference with Gravier in Quebec had expressed his astonishment to see the Jesuits complain of "a mission situated ninety leagues from their nearest establishment and judged necessary for the maintenance of all the other Seminary Missions."<sup>54</sup>

For an understanding of the point at issue between the Seminary of Quebec and the Jesuits we are thus left to depend almost entirely on documentary sources emanating from the former. There is a surprising meagreness of extant contemporary material contributed to the controversy by the Jesuits themselves. A few more or less casual references to it in letters of the period and the material is exhausted. There is no account of the affair from the Jesuit angle as fully detailed and documented as Taschereau's. Rochemonteix's, the most complete Jesuit version yet attempted, is not by any means adequate in its factual background of the controversy. We are accordingly left in the dark as to the manner in which the Jesuits met the allegations contained in Seminary correspondence on the subject. Substantially, and this is to repeat what we have already stated more than once, the Jesuit contention appears to have been that considerations of equity, if not of justice, demanded that a mission-field which had already been canonically assigned to them and which they were



making immediate preparations to work, should not be summarily taken out of their hands. The Tamaroa were beyond all question Illinois; and therefore, as a Laval Ms. (*Memoire sur l' établissement de la Mission des Tamarois*) expressed it, the Jesuits claimed that the Tamaroa mission-field was a *dependency* of their Mission of the Illinois.

At all events, the Jesuits now brought the controversy to an abrupt end by a voluntary decision not to press their claims. In the interests of peace and in consideration of Laval, the retired saintly Bishop of Quebec, and after having referred the entire affair to the General, Thyrus Gonzales, Father de la Chaise renounced the Jesuit claim to the Tamaroa mission in favor of the Seminary clergymen. "You may easily judge," he wrote to Bishop Laval, May 22, 1702, "of the desire which I have that our Fathers merit the continuance of your kindly offices and preserve a perfect union with the Gentlemen of your Seminary [of Quebec] from the sacrifice I have wished them to make through consideration for you, not only of a part of their primary school, which they have kept up entire for forty years, but also of the Tamarois post, notwithstanding all the reasons there were for confirming them in the possession of the same." The relation between the voluntary cession thus made by Father De La Chaise and the official settlement presently to be recorded is not altogether clear. Though the De La Chaise letter was written nearly a year later than the date of the settlement, (unless 1702 be an error for 1701), the renunciation of claims of which he speaks would appear to have preceded the latter. At all events an ecclesiastical commission, on which sat the Archbishop of Auch, as President, and the Bishops of Marseilles, Chartres and Quebec, was empowered by Louis XIV under a royal decree of May 27, 1701, to adjudicate the affair. Eleven days later, June 7, 1701, the commission announced a settlement in these terms: "the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions are to remain alone established in the place named of the Tamarois and are to receive fraternally the Reverend Jesuit Fathers when they pass through there to go and assist the Illinois and the Tamarois in their fishing and hunting quarters, in which quarters the Reverend Jesuit Fathers will be authorized to settle, if they deem it proper. Everything according to the good pleasure of the King and with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec." To this settlement, which was a compromise on the issue involved, both parties agreed, the Jesuits through Fathers Lamberville and Kervillars and the Seminary through Messrs. Brisacier, Thiberge and Tremblay of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions.

There was apparently the best of feeling all around over this outcome of the affair. The newly appointed Intendant of Canada, M. Beauharnois, who had interested himself in bringing about the "*agrément*," gave a dinner to both parties to the controversy, May, 1702 (1701?), while a few days later the Jesuits entertained Bishop St. Vallier in their country-house at Gentilly.<sup>55</sup>

## VIII.

June 12, 1702, the day being a Monday, a thrill of excitement ran through the Des Peres village as a flotilla of ten canoes which had come up from the mouth of the Mississippi put in at the river-bank. Among the French who arrived was Father Gravier and he carried with him in the Paris mail the long-awaited instructions on the vexed question of the Tamaroa Mission. At the first news of the coming of the French Mr. Bergier hastened to the other side of the river, but learned nothing from Father Gravier concerning the issue of the controversy. Then, returning to Cahokia, he found in letters addressed to him by the Director of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions and put in his hands by the young St. Cosme, who was of the party just arrived, detailed intelligence concerning the settlement that had been reached in Paris. The next or following day Father Pinet was at the Des Peres to welcome his Superior, Father Gravier, who advised him that he must straightway terminate his ministry among the Tamaroa. What followed is told graphically by Mr. Bergier in a letter to Canada, of date June 15, 1702.

On his return he [Father Pinet] showed me a letter of Father de Lamberville, he said, by which this Father states, if I remmeber correctly, that the Bishop had thrown himself on his neck and embraced him and pressed him so earnestly even in the name of the old Bishop to cede to us this mission that he could not resist and had perforee to surrender. He added that notwithstanding the agreement made between the Reverend Fathers and our Gentlemen, it had been stipulated verbally that these Fathers would not retire immediately and without a new order of the King, if it so pleased them. After this Father Pinet informed me that he was going to call [the Indians] for prayer in the evening and for Mass the following day, after which he would give a feast to the Indians to take leave of them and would then depart. I assisted at his feast in the chief's cabin, as he had asked me to do. He exhorted the Indians to persevere in prayer [and] to listen to me, representing to them that it was one and the same prayer, and adding, in order to console them, "that he was not going far, that he would not abandon them, that he would love them and always look upon them as his children. After the feast and dis-



course he brought me at the Mission the baptismal register, which he delivered to me and soon afterwards embarked for the Katz. He gave his house to a man named Le Lorrain, whom he installed therein before his departure. Here I am then delivered by the grace of God from the embarrassment which his [Ms. ?] and his pretensions caused me. But I am not for all that out of trouble, for not knowing the language except very poorly, it is not possible for me to maintain the mission on the footing on which the Father would have placed it, as he speaks the language perfectly and better than the Indians themselves.<sup>56</sup>

It may have been that the particular adjustment of the Tamaroa affair which became known at Cahokia in the June of 1702 was not the final settlement decreed by the ecclesiastical commission, but the previous informal agreement entered into at Paris between Bishop St. Vallier and Father de Lamberville, the Procurator of the Jesuit Missions in Canada. This circumstance would perhaps serve to explain why Father Pinet did not at once sever all relations with the Tamaroa Mission, as we learn from a letter of Father Gabriel Marest written July 5, 1702, from the Des Peres village to Father de Lamberville. "Father Pinet, a very Holy and Zealous missionary, has left the mission at the Tamaroa, or Arkinsa, in accordance with your direction to me. But he has only half quitted it, for he has left a man in our house there who takes care of it; and thus we occasionally go thither from this place to show that we are obedient to the King pending the receipt of his orders."<sup>57</sup>

Notwithstanding the disagreement between Mr. Bergier and his Jesuit neighbors on the question of jurisdiction, the amenities of social intercourse were apparently at no time interrupted on either side. There are indications that personal relations between them were not merely friendly but cordial. On June 23, 1702, only a few days after Father Pinet's retirement from Cahokia, Mr. Bergier was at the Des Peres village to make his confession and obtain a supply of the holy oils.<sup>58</sup> He dined with the Fathers and had a conference with Father Gravier, whom at a later date he was to characterize as "that good religious and missionary."<sup>59</sup> A letter of Father Marest written scarcely two weeks later refers to certain circumstances, the nature of which is not indicated, in which "Monsieur Bergier shows that he is a worthy member of the missions étrangères."<sup>60</sup>

On the evening of July 5, 1702, Father Marest began his annual retreat (a period of retirement devoted to prayer and other spiritual exercises), after which he was to depart immediately for the Sioux country, leaving Father Pinet alone with the Kaskaskia, "to his

[Pinet's] great sorrow." <sup>61</sup> The Sioux excursion was evidently not undertaken, as Father Marest was at the Des Peres on August 1, on which day Father Pinet passed away. Death must have come to him with something of suddenness, as only three weeks before, Father Marest was planning to leave him alone in charge of the Kaskaskia. Very probably the end was hastened by the strenuous ministry in which he had been absorbed ever since his arrival in America. Only a few months before Father Gravier had written to Paris: "Father Pinet and Father Marest are wearing out their strength; and they are two saints who take pleasure in being deprived of everything—in order, they say, that they may soon be nearer Paradise." <sup>62</sup> Father Gravier's account of the destitution in which the Jesuit missionaries of the Illinois country were living is corroborated by Mr. Bergier, who, on March 21, 1702, at the very time Father Pinet's chapel lay under an interdict, wrote to Father Bouvart, Rector of the Jesuit College of Quebec: "Mr. Foucault has informed me that he wrote to you of the misery to which he saw Father Mermet reduced in his winter quarters of Chicagou. I am obliged to give you the same [information?] as to the Reverend Fathers Pinet and Gabriel [Marest], who in all their labors and sicknesses have lacked necessities and have been forced for some time back to live by borrowing."

Immediately on Father Pinet's death Father Marest despatched a letter by messenger to Mr. Bergier, requesting him to come and perform the funeral rites over the dead missionary and "this for the edification of the people." Mr. Bergier was in a quandary. For a Vicar-General to conduct the services of the Church over the remains of a clergyman who had disregarded his interdict and had apparently died under ecclesiastical censure would be a self-stultifying procedure, to say the least. But another view of the matter presented itself to the Vicar-General. "He persuaded himself," it is Mr. Bergier himself who writes, "that Father Pinet, whose piety he well knew, had disobeyed the interdict only to obey his Superiors, that he [Pinet] did not think that he had incurred the censure, that he died in good faith and as far as necessary had received absolution." <sup>63</sup> Thus escaping from his perplexity, Mr. Bergier hurried across the river and assisted as celebrant at the funeral of Father Pinet. It was the earliest recorded death and burial on Missouri soil. Some words of the Vicar-General written at the time reveal his mind that the way to heaven had not been blocked for the dead missionary by the seemingly contumacious course which he pursued. "The death of Father Pinet, with whom I had been forced to have some differences that



might have continued had he lived ; but God has provided by giving him, as I believe, eternal rest, which leaves me temporal rest.' ' 64

At least one passage in the correspondence of Mr. Bergier indicates that he was not himself altogether clear as to the validity of the interdict imposed by him on Father Pinet's chapel. He once proposed the matter as a case of conscience to Father Gravier, whom he personally revered, but declined to acquiesce in the latter's opinion that the interdict might in *tuta conscientia* be disregarded. One thing, in any event, seems placed beyond the range of controversy, the attitude of good faith in which Father Gravier and his associates pursued the course they did. In the complete absence of Jesuit contemporary evidence on the point at issue we are not in a position to review the objective grounds on which the Jesuit Superior was led to justify the course laid down by him as one that might be safely followed by the missionaries dependent upon him. It seems clear, at all events, that he sincerely judged, rightly or wrongly, that the powers originally granted him as Superior of the Illinois Missions by Bishop St. Vallier might be lawfully exercised until such time as they should be set aside by an adverse decision from the tribunal to which the controversy had been appealed. And this one thing, the absence of anything like ill-will or disingenuousness in the stand taken by the Jesuit missionaries is the feature of the situation which it is especially gratifying to be able here to put on record. Against mistakes of judgment even the best of men are not immune ; but mere display of party feeling or deliberate disregard of duty, how could one look back upon such with other feelings than those of the deepest regret ? Camille Rochemonteix, the Jesuit historian, concedes that Bishop St. Vallier had a canonical right to take the Tamarois mission from the Society of Jesus and give it to the Seminary. And yet one reflects with the same historian that considerations of equity may sometimes militate against the exercise of otherwise perfectly valid powers. *Summum jus, summa injuria*. Reviewing the entire episode one sees how it was the persuasion that equity had been violated which led the Jesuit Superiors into the attitude of opposition which they took up against the Bishop of Quebec on the Tamaroa question ; and on that persuasion, rightly or wrongly founded, they honestly acted until the question met with the solution which we have made known to the reader.

## IX.

Life in Cahokia in the opening years of its career must have coursed in the same channels as those through which it flowed in other

early French settlements in the West. Voyageurs, coureurs des bois, hunters, traders, with a sprinkling of farmers made up the bulk of the French population, which as late as 1715 numbered no more than forty-five families. The earliest group of French settlers had come from Canada. Later, with the opening up of Lower Louisiana to settlement, there were accessions from the South. Father Bergier's letters throw little light on either religious or social conditions in the colony. There is a casual notice of some of the French making their Easter duty and gaining the Jubilee, and mention occurs of vows made by pious settlers to St. Joseph and St. Anne, two favorite Saints among the Canadians. In March, 1702, seventeen Frenchmen left Cahokia to ascend the Missouri two hundred leagues, there to build a fort between the Pawnees and the Iowa. They desired to take a missionary with them, but none was available. In the course of the expedition they were attacked by Indians and had to fortify themselves on an island in the river. In all probability they returned to Cahokia unharmed. This would seem to have been the earliest regularly organized expedition known to have gone up the Missouri.<sup>65</sup>

Cahokia was a little more than a year old when it became a port of call for Le Sueur in his expedition of 1700 up the Mississippi to the Sioux country in the present Minnesota. The explorer's party, starving and almost unable for bodily weakness to row their boats upstream, had the good fortune one day in May of meeting Mr. Bouteville, the Seminary clergyman, then on his way from Cahokia with food-supplies for Messrs. Montigny and Davion in the South. On reading letters from de Montigny delivered to him by Le Sueur, Bouteville changed his plans and retraced his course up the river, but not before he had supplied the exploring party with food as far as his stores allowed. He carried with him on his return a letter from Le Sueur to his friend, Father de Limoges of Cahokia, begging the latter to come down the river with adequate provisions for Le Sueur's men. This de Limoges did, in a bark canoe manned by four men, meeting the expedition on June 16. "As soon as the Reverend Father disembarked, Mr. Le Sueur wished to extend to him his compliments and thanks; but the Reverend Father told him that before any compliments were passed, the sick should be first attended to. To which Mr. La Sueur made answer that he was himself the sickest of all and that everybody else was well, which surprised very much the Reverend Father and the four Frenchmen who had come with him. On returning to our launch, we were delighted to find so great an abundance of victuals. After we had taken them out of our canoe to put



them into our launch, everybody threw himself upon them. The Reverend Father was greatly astonished that we did not eat, each of us, the weight of a quarter-pound of meat and as much as a sort of biscuit or tart. But, by way of amends, we drank pretty freely of Spanish wine."

On July 1, 1700, La Sueur and his party reached Cahokia. "Eighteen [?] leagues from there [the Meramec] as you ascend, is the village of the Illinois, to the right of the Mississippi and on its bank. We put in there under sail to the great surprise of the Indians, who were especially astonished to see our launch, as they have only canoes made of bark from trees that come from Canada and some few pirogues like those in the lower Mississippi. They accosted us as we disembarked with more than thirty Canadian merchants, who came to trade in peltries. The French who were living with the Illinois turned out under arms and gave welcome to Mr. Leseur [Le Sueur], whom they had already seen in Canada. There were also in the village three French missionaries, one of them named Mr. Bergier, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, and the two others named Messrs. Bouteville and St. Cosme. There were also two Reverend Jesuit Fathers, Pinet and Limoges. The Christian Indians sang their calumet of peace for Mr. Le Seuer, who made them considerable presents. We remained seventeen days in this village, where four of our Frenchmen left us to go off to Canada. We took five others in their place, among them one named Chapongas, who served us as interpreter, for he spoke very well the languages of all these nations.

Before this village of the Illinois is an island which hides the approach to it. There is only one little arm of the Mississippi by which you land anywhere around the village. There is a very large prairie, at the end of which are some mountains which make a very fine perspective.

After having embraced all the persons of our acquaintance who came to escort us back to the landing-place we departed and went six leagues further up the Mississippi, where we found on the left a very large river called the Missouri." Le Sueur had left Cahokia July 17 with his launch, two canoes and nineteen men.<sup>66</sup>

Fear of the Sioux was chronic in new-born Cahokia. In a letter to Canada dated as early as June 14, 1700, four months and a half after his arrival among the Tamaroa, Mr. Bergier describes vividly the horrors of a Sioux invasion on however small a scale.

We have frequent alarms here and we have several times been obliged to receive within our walls nearly all the women and children

of the village. Pentecost Sunday there was one [alarm], which was not without consequences. Four Sioux on the edge of the woods of the Tamarois in plain sight of the village, cut off the back of a slave belonging to a Frenchman; stabbed two women to death and scalped them; wounded a girl with a knife and crushed another under foot. They were all picking strawberries. We were about to finish compline when the chief ran to our door to warn us that the Sioux were killing them. He threw himself into Mr. de St. Cosme's canoe, with some Indians and Frenchmen to reconnoitre, partly by water and then by land. Great excitement prevailed. Finally the Sioux were discovered and three were captured, killed, burned and eaten. This is a horrible detail. It partakes less of war than of the wolf, the tiger and the demon. The last of these three Sioux who was burned only the next day was baptized by Father Pinet, who made use of the "Lorrain" as an interpreter. He [the Sioux] was the nephew of Ouakantape, chief of the Sioux, and because of this everyone was very much afraid that the Sioux will want to avenge his death and destroy the village some day. On the other hand the Shawnee, who are enemies of the Illinois, are feared. One may say that we are *inter lupos, in medio nationis pravae et perversae* [among wolves, in the midst of a wicked and perverse nation']. Their greatest and most universal passion is to destroy, scalp and eat men, that is all their ambition, their glory: an essential drawback to Christianity as long as it will last. But the mercy of Jesus Christ is all powerful. Beseech Him that He diffuse it very abundantly over this mission and over the missionaries and that he make them "*Prudentes ut serpentes, simplices ut columbae*—Amen ["prudent as serpents, simple as doves"]".<sup>67</sup>

Two years later, in July, 1703, the Sioux menace still hovered over the defenceless village.

"All my Tamaroa and Cahokia Indians," writes Father Bergier, "have left for their summer hunt. Not a single one of them has remained behind with me and this on account of the Sioux, whom they fear with reason; I had planned to accompany them as I did last winter, but was unable to do so, as I have no one to watch my house. All the French who were here, fearing also to be killed or plundered are abandoning the village and are going, some to Father Maretz's [Marest's] Mission, some twenty-five leagues below on the river of the Metchigamias, others to the Oubache [Ohio] to be in security. Father Maretz has offered me his house by a letter which the Indians have just put into my hands. But it is impossible for me to abandon my own [house] with all my effects and those of other individuals who are absent. So I am staying here for six weeks with a young Panis [Pawnee] slave of nine or ten years, exposed to the inroads of the enemy, having for defense only the shield of the good will of the Lord, with which I cover myself. I have just learned that a Frenchman will stay with me."<sup>68</sup>

The following year, 1704, Mr. Bergier was again to find himself alone in Cahokia after the departure of the Indians on their summer hunt. This time he requests Father Marest, (residing since the spring of 1703 at the new Kaskaskia village in what was later Randolph County, Illinois), to take charge of his effects, whereupon the latter sends two canoes and eight Frenchmen to Cahokia "to look for and bring me to his house," as Bergier writes from the Ohio on July 14. "For this among other [services] I am indebted to him." Almost down to the close of the eighteenth century the settlements of the mid-Mississippi were kept on edge by the truculent Sioux, the memory of one historic raid of the tribe being preserved in the name of the Creole village on the west bank of the river known as Portage des Sioux.

The most conspicuous figure among the French residents of Cahokia at this period was Michael Ako, or Akau, the half-breed companion of Father Hennepin in his historic travels. He was married to Aramepinchicue, daughter of the Kaskaskia chief, Rouensa, her parents compelling her much against her will to become his wife. At Peoria he set himself in opposition to Father Gravier, seeking to diminish the missionary's influence with the Indians; but he repented and promised to amend his ways, which he did. It was at the instance of Michael Ako that Rouensa and his family embraced the Faith, their fidelity to the demands of Christian life eliciting the repeated praise of the missionaries.<sup>69</sup> In particular, Ako's wife, the chief's daughter, gave unmistakable tokens of exalted virtue thriving in the midst of savage surroundings. Though not referring to her by name, it is apparently this remarkable woman that Father Bineau portrays in a letter to Mr. de Montigny.

Virtue seems to be born with her, her heart is ever burning with divine love, one needs only to say a word on this subject and she becomes entirely recollected and enters within herself. Her devotion and modesty in church is very great and remarkable. She reprehends publicly the faults which are committed in the village and pardons nothing to herself. . . . She bears a holy envy towards such as ask pardon publicly in chapel for their bad conduct. All the Indians speak of her in terms of great esteem, even the heathen of the mission having the same sentiments in her regard.<sup>70</sup>

In the spring of 1700, just about the time of Mr. Bergier's arrival at the mission, a son of this saintly woman was sent by the missionaries from Cahokia to Quebec to be educated there.



"We are sending you," wrote Mr. St. Cosme to Bishop St. Vallier, "the son of Michael Ako, who appears to have considerable talent. His father renders us every service in his power and his [Ako's] father-in-law, the chief of the Illinois, is a man who can help us, for he is a good Christian and has much ability. It gives these people great pleasure when one shows friendliness towards their children. If the little boy could only succeed and become one day a missionary, it would no doubt be a great boon to the missions [Ms.?] The child's mother is a woman of extraordinary example and virtue. Mr. Bergier is writing to you about her."<sup>71</sup>

What befell the youthful Ako is nowhere on record. At all events, he did not return as a priest, as the pious missionary had hoped, to evangelize his own or any other people.

## X.

Even before the departure of Father Pinet, as was noted above, Mr. Bergier had extended his pastoral care to the Indians, a band of whom he accompanied on their winter-hunt of 1702-3. In April, 1703, he notes the baptism by his own hand on Easter Saturday of a group of eleven, some of them presumably Indians, the group consisting of four men, three women, a grown-up girl and three children.<sup>72</sup> He had much to endure in the beginning from the medicine-men, who made every effort to thwart his ministry, but came off victorious in the contest and was able subsequently to pursue his missionary work in peace. Unfortunately, the differences between the Jesuit missionaries and the priests of the Foreign Missions, healed, it was hoped, by the settlement of the Tamaroa affair, again became acute in consequence of their rival claims to the new missionary field opened up in the South with Mobile as center. The Jesuits had occupied it first and were followed by the priests of the Quebec Seminary. Efforts made to have Bishop St. Vallier divide the field assigning separate districts to the two bodies proved fruitless, and as no hope of a satisfactory settlement was in sight, the Jesuits, under orders from the Father-General, withdrew entirely in 1703 from the lower Mississippi Valley. They were not to re-enter until 1724. In 1707 Mr. Bergier was contending that the powers of Vicar-General communicated by the Bishop of Quebec to the Jesuit Superior of the Illinois Missions were restricted to the Indians and did not extend to the French residing in Indian missions conducted by the Jesuits.<sup>73</sup> This interpretation of his powers Father Gravier protested vigorously in a letter to the Father-General, Michael Angelo Tamburini. "Mr. Bergier has said that on the first alarm of an enemy, he would

abandon the place and come here [to Paris] ; but I can hardly believe that he will leave it if we do not." <sup>74</sup> These are the words of Father Gravier. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bergier, whose quick, impressionable nature reveals itself in his correspondence, seems to have spoken and written at times with a touch of playful exaggeration. It is not likely that he ever seriously contemplated abandoning his post. Certain it is at all events that he died at it.

On New Year's day, 1707, Mr. Bergier, who had gone down from Cahokia, reached Mobile with tidings he had picked upon the way of the tragic death of his brother-priest of the Seminary, St. Cosme. Shortly after his return to Cahokia he fell dangerously ill. At the news Father Gabriel Marest hastened up from Kaskaskia to assist him. The account which the Jesuit gives of the last illness and death of the second pastor of Cahokia is of such immediate interest for the pioneer history of the historic place that we transcribe it *in extenso*. As his neighbor for some years in Cahokia and the Des Peres village and as his confessor during the same period, Father Marest was in a position to witness to the merit of this devoted missionary.

I remained eight entire days with this worthy ecclesiastic; the care that I took of him and the remedies which I gave him, seemed gradually to restore him, so that believing himself better,—and knowing, besides, how necessary my presence was to my own Mission on account of the departure of the savages, he urged me to return to it. Before leaving him, I administered to him, by way of precaution, the holy Viaticum; he instructed me as to the condition of his Mission, recommending it to me, in case that God should take him away. I charged the Frenchman who took care of the patient to inform us at once, if he were in danger; and I retraced the way to my Mission.<sup>75</sup>

Arriving at the Kaskaskia village Father Marest found his Indians gone to scatter themselves up and down the Mississippi. He visited the various bands, but at the first opportunity returned to his headquarters.

The good old man whom I had left so sick and the illness of Monsieur Bergier continually disturbed me and urged me to return to the village, that I might hear news of them. Accordingly I ascended the Mississippi, but it was with great toil; I had only one savage with me and his lack of skill obliged me to paddle continually, or to use the pole. . . . As soon as I reached our village I wished to go to see Monsieur Bergier; but the people opposed this alleging as a cause that, no one having brought news of him—as had been promised in case he was worse—they could not doubt that his health was re-established. I yielded to their reasoning; but, a few days afterward I felt

genuine regret for not having followed my first plan. A young slave came about two o'clock in the afternoon to apprise us of his death, and beg us to go to perform the funeral rites. I set out forthwith. I had already gone six leagues when night overtook me; a heavy rain which had fallen did not permit my taking a few hours rest. Therefore I walked until daybreak, when, the weather having cleared a little, I lighted a fire to dry myself, and then continued my way. I arrived at the village toward evening, God having given me strength to walk these fifteen in a day and a night. The next day at dawn I said Mass for the deceased and buried him.

The death of Monsieur Bergier was somewhat sudden, according to what was told me by the Frenchman who was with him; he felt it coming ail at once, and said that it would be useless to send for me, since he would be dead before my arrival. He merely took in his hands the crucifix, which he kissed lovingly and expired. He was a missionary of true merit and of a very austere life. At the beginning of his Mission he had to bear rude attacks from the Charlatans,—who, availing themselves of his slight knowledge of the Savage language, every day took away from him some Christians; but, eventually, he learned how to make himself in his turn, feared by these imposters. His death was for them a cause of triumph. They gathered around the cross that he had erected, and there they invoked their Manitou—each one dancing and attributing to himself the glory of having killed the Missionary, after which they broke the cross into a thousand pieces. I learned this with great grief afterwards.<sup>76</sup>

Father Marest, thinking that such an outrage as the destruction of the mission-cross should not go unpunished, called upon the French to stop trading with the Indians until they made reparation for the insult offered by them to the most cherished symbol of Christianity. The Indian promptly repented, their chiefs twice presenting themselves very humbly before Father Marest to sue for pardon. Thereupon, as a pledge of good-will to the Indians, he engaged to visit Cahokia from time to time from his own mission of Kaskaskia until such time as the Quebec Seminary should send a successor to Father Bergier. Father Marest no doubt lived up to his engagements. The date of one visit of his to Cahokia at this period is recorded, Easter Sunday, 1711, on which day he set out from there accompanied by a few Indians and having with him nothing but cassock and breviary to journey to distant Mackinac, where he hoped to meet his Jesuit brother, Father Joseph Marest.<sup>77</sup>

Meantime, the principals in the Tamaroa drama had passed from off the stage, all except Bishop St. Vallier, who lingered on until 1727, regretting his one-time unpleasantnesses with the Jesuits and ready to see them lapse into oblivion. Taking a Jesuit confessor for himself



and placing Jesuit confessors in the convents of Quebec, from which they had previously been excluded, he sought throughout the declining years of his episcopate to extend to the Society of Jesus in his diocese every token of confidence and good-will.

The economic position of the Mississippi missions had been a distressing one from the beginning. The Seminary Directors had urged Mr. Bergier to keep a close eye on expenses and restrain the missionaries from taking too many tribes under their care at once. In particular Mr. St. Cosme was to be prevented from going to the Panis or the Missouri, where it would be impossible to send him relief. It would be better to begin with the nearest tribes and expand little by little. The first expedition had cost the Seminary 10,000 livres. A second expedition, sent out in 1700 and consisting of Messrs. Foucault and Bouteville, cost as much, while the same sum again is recorded for the expenses of the party that went down from Canada in 1719. The annual subsidy allowed by Louis XIV was faithfully paid until 1717, though mostly in paper-money or treasury notes, while all the expenses of the expedition sent out between 1705 and 1724 had to be met in silver. The subsidies received during all this period did not bring the missionaries a thousand silver crowns.<sup>78</sup>

At any rate the French Government had regularly paid the promised annual grants. But in 1724 complaint was made to Louis XV that the Company of the Indies, who took over the Louisiana colony in 1717, had failed year by year to pay the annual grant of 600 livres in French silver, which it had pledged in favor of every Seminary missionary resident in its territory. Nothing was received from the Company even for Mr. Mercier, "for having accompanied M. de Bourgmond to the discovery of the Missouri and for having remained with him all the time he was there."<sup>78</sup> Louis XV is then petitioned by the Seminary to bring pressure to bear on the Company to pay the promised subsidy. The one thing that keeps the Seminary priests at Cahokia, so they declared in a memoir of 1724, is "the hope they have that this little establishment will serve as entrepot and nursery for the spreading of missionaries among the savages of the Missouri, where they were the first to go and with which they can easily communicate from the place where they are now established."<sup>79</sup>

After Mr. Bergier's death in 1707 no Seminary priest was to be found at Cahokia until 1712. In that year Mr. Dominic Varlet, Doctor of the Sorboune and subsequently a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, holding which dignity he was eventually to sever his connection with Rome and become a Jansenist, arrived on the scene with

the powers of Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec. After spending some time at Cahokia he returned to Quebec to induce the Seminary to send more missionaries. As a result, Messrs. Calvarien, Thaumur de la Source, and Mercier arrived among the Tamaroa in 1719. Mr. Mercier in particular was to qualify himself as missionary to the Missouri River tribes, some of whom he was actually to meet during the period (1723-8) he served as Bourgmond's chaplain at Fort Orleans. He was the pioneer resident priest of the Missouri Valley and in him the Seminary of Quebec realized in some measure its early dreams of zealous evangelical work in the Trans-Mississippi West.<sup>80</sup> To replace Messrs. Calvarin and Thaumur de la Source, who returned to Canada, came later Messrs. Gagnon and Laurent. Mr. Mercier died holily, as he had lived, March 30, 1753. The last view we have of him in life is in the composite picture of the Cahokia Seminary priests Gagnon, Laurent, Mercier, drawn by the Jesuit Vivier of Kaskaskia in 1750. "Nothing can be more amiable than their character, or more edifying than their conduct. We live with them as if we were members of the same body."<sup>81</sup>

In 1754 Messrs. Gagnon and Laurent were joined by Mr. François Forget Duverger, the last missionary sent by the Quebec Seminary to the Mississippi. On the cession of the east bank of the Mississippi to the English at the end of the momentous struggle between Great Britain and France for the West, Mr. Forget, needlessly alarmed lest it be confiscated by the English, sold the Seminary property at Cahokia or much of it, 1764, and hurriedly recrossed the ocean. By a singularly strange coincidence he found himself a fellow-passenger on ship with the Jesuit missionaries recently employed up and down the Valley of the Mississippi, who were likewise returning to France after the violent striking down of their establishments by the French colonial administration at New Orleans. Together the Society of Jesus and the Seminary of Quebec had entered the field of missionary endeavor centered at the Tamaroa village, together they now withdrew from the same field after sixty-five years of service on behalf of Indian and white alike.

With the passing of Forget the last link of association between the Seminary clergymen and their legitimate offspring, historic Cahokia, was definitely broken. One single Jesuit, Father Louis Sebastian Meurin, still tarried in the region of the mid-Mississippi and when he died in 1777, after holding the first religious services in the newly founded city of St. Louis, the first period of Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Valley of the Mississippi was at an end. Looking back

at the circumstances that issued in the founding of Cahokia, one cannot fail to see that the episode is intertwined with all that was noblest and best in the human energies that went to the earliest making of the American West. Across Cahokia beginnings may be projected the shadow of a rather depressing controversy over ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but in the perspective of the years the controversy shrinks into the petty proportions of the inconsequential thing it was, while all that was substantial in the story looms in the foreground with a poignancy of appeal that grows ever greater as the years wear on. And the substance of the story is in the courage, the daring, the sacrifice of self, the impulse to humanitarian and Christ-like service that led the members of either missionary body to blaze a way through the wilderness that they might preach the Gospel, the while, building better than they knew, they helped to lay the first rude foundation-stones in the fabric of the great commonwealth of Illinois.

#### NOTES

For access to the correspondence of the Seminary clergymen now preserved in the Archives of Laval University, Quebec, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Amadée Gosselin, archivist and one-time Rector of the University named. This important manuscript material has been supplemented by the transcripts of documents from the same archives now to be found in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois. These transcripts include, besides various contemporary Memoirs on the Tamaroa Mission, (listed as Laval Mss.), an unpublished historical narrative (73 pp.) of the Mission compiled by the Rev. E. A. (subsequently Cardinal) Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois sur les bords du Mississippi, 1849*. This is a well-documented work presenting the Tamaroa controversy from the Seminary standpoint. A Jesuit account of the controversy, the only detailed one in print, is embodied in the work of Camille de Rochemonteix, S. J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après beaucoup des documents inédits*, Tome III, Paris, 1896. Accounts of Tamaroa beginnings are also to be found in the biography of Venerable Bishop Laval by the Abbé Auguste Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr. De Laval*, 2 v., 190. The same scholarly Canadian historian has also written a life of Bishop St. Vallier, forming the first part of his *L'Eglise du Canada Depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête*, Quebec, 1911. Other sources, manuscript or printed, utilized in the preparation of this paper are indicated in the foot-notes.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoire au sujet de la Mission des Tamarois* (Laval Mss.). The Tamaroa had become known to the French from their first entrance into the Mississippi country. Marquette and Jolliet, if we can credit a statement of Bishop Laval's to be referred to later, visited the tribe in their epoch-making descent of the Mississippi, 1673. Hennepin records a visit to the Tamaroa village in March, 1680. La Salle and his party were there in February, 1682, while at a later period de Tonty nearly lost his life in an encounter with the Tamaroa in their



native habitat. The spelling Tamaroa is the one adopted by the American Bureau of Ethnology. (See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, art. *Tamaroa*, where some twenty variants of the name are listed). The form Tamaroa was used by La Salle. According to Hodge, Tamaroa signifies etymologically "of the cut tail."

<sup>2</sup> The foregoing account of the circumstances attending the inception of the Tamaroa Mission is based chiefly on Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 6 *et seq.* The French text of the three letters-patent issued by St. Vallier is in Rochemonteix, 3:551-553.

<sup>3</sup> Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 4. The extent to which both Bishop Laval and Bishop St. Vallier became interested in the new missionary venture is revealed by the appeals they made to France for a government subsidy in its behalf. Letters to this effect, most of them signed by both prelates and all dated September 25, 1698, were addressed to Madame de Maintenon, the Archbishop of Paris, and the ministers de Maurepas and de Pontchartrain. The Archbishop is asked to speak to the King and to represent to him the importance of the new missions and "the perfect union in which we live and to which you have so much contributed." To Madame Maintenon it is represented that the Jesuits receive 6000 livres from the King every year and that the Sulpicians receive a similar amount for their Indian mission on the island of Montreal. The Seminary has incurred an initial expense of 10,000 livres "for the important missions which it has begun to establish on the Mississippi River"; but it cannot maintain them without a subsidy. M. de Ponchartrain is informed that both Governor Frontenac and the Intendant have given the new mission their decided approval. For twenty years the Indians of Acadia have been evangelized by the Seminary, "the chief end and institute of which is to devote itself to the conversion of the most abandoned heathen nations." The petitions on behalf of the Seminary missions of the Mississippi thus addressed by the Quebec prelates to the highest functionaries of Church and State in France met with a favorable response though not without some delay. In 1703 Louis XIV finally granted the missions an annual appropriation of 3000 livres as a charge on the royal treasury, adding in 1705 a grant of 1500 livres for a curé on the lower Mississippi.

A passport to the Mississippi country was furnished the missionaries by the Count de Frontenac, "Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in all New France." The document, a remarkable one in the grandiose and solemn character of its terms, is reproduced in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 5:200. It is dated from Three Rivers, July 17, 1698, and, so it declares, was issued at the petition of "their Lordships, the Bishops who are in this country." The missionaries were authorized to start from Montreal in four canoes manned by twelve men, "And we give permission to the said Reverend Missionaries to load in their canoes their stores and other articles they may require for their subsistence, maintenance and settlement; and we are more so voluntarily disposed to help them that we are persuaded that there is no human motive mixed with the intentions of the Reverend Missionaries, they having in view only the glory of God and the desire of propagating the Faith."

<sup>4</sup> Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1773-1871*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites) 65:61. In accordance with prevalent usage during the period to which our narrative belongs the Seminary clergymen, as being

members of the secular priesthood, will be designated throughout this article by the prefix Monsieur or Mr. instead of Father.

<sup>8</sup> Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 346.

<sup>9</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 65:85.

<sup>10</sup> Kellogg, *op. cit.* The exact place where the missionaries said Mass on the site of St. Louis, December 8, 1698, cannot be determined, though conjecture has been made that it was at the foot of Arsenal Street or close thereto.

<sup>11</sup> "*lors du retour de M. Montigny et M. de St. Cosme qui fût au mois de mars* [1689]." So St. Vallier in his letter of February, 1700, to Gravier. However, there are indications that St. Cosme had returned from the Arkansas to the Tamaroa village in January or February. Thus Mr. de Montigny writes February 27, 1699, from the Arkansas: "For the present I remain with the Taensas; but I am shortly to go to the Natchez. Mr. de Saint-Cosme remains at the Tamaroa village." (Archives Nationales, Paris, K 1374:83). Again de Montigny writes March 3, 1699 (Archiv. Nationales, K 1374:82): "The two gentlemen of the seminary of foreign missions of Quebec who came with me, have been placed, one among the Tamarois, the other among the Tonicas [Mr. Davison]; as for myself, I remain with the Taensas and Natchez."

<sup>12</sup> St. Vallier à Gravier, Feb. 1700. Laval University Archives.

<sup>13</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur [St. Vallier?], March, 1700. La Source à "ma Reverende Mere, de Chicagou, ce 19 Avril, 1699." This letter of La Source in the Archives Nationales, Paris, is indexed K 1374:84 (Dossier, "Canada"). For the text of de Montigny's Chicago letter of April 23, 1699, cf. Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> De Montigny à Monseigneur [St. Vallier], "sur la Mission des Mississipi des Taensas ce 25 Aoust, 1699."

<sup>15</sup> De Montigny à Monseigneur [St. Vallier], August 25, 1699. This letter gives May 14 as the date of de Montigny's return to Cahokia from Chicago. A St. Cosme letter of March, 1700, has May 20.

<sup>16</sup> Bergier à Monseigneur (St. Vallier), February, 1700. De Tonty who was with La Salle's party on their visit to the Tamaroa in February, 1682, counted 124 cabins in their village (Margry, 1:594). Later, in a Relation of 1700, he computes the men of the village at 400. *Thought*, September, 1926.

<sup>17</sup> Bergier à ———, June, 1700.

<sup>18</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 65:61.

<sup>19</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 64:161.

<sup>20</sup> Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, 3:573. Cf. also d'Iberville au Ministere, February 15, 1700: "il est necessaire que cette Mission reste aux uns ou aux autres. D'Iberville pense que toutes les nations Illinois dont est celle la [Tamarois] devraient etre aux Jesuites."

<sup>21</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 65:71.

<sup>22</sup> St. Vallier à Gravier, February, 1700. St. Cosme in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, March 1700, insists that Allouez and Bineteau had never been at the Tamaroa village and that Gravier had been there only for two or three days; moreover that Bineteau had never seen the Mississippi below the Missouri.

<sup>23</sup> De Montigny à Monseigneur ———, August 25, 1699.

<sup>24</sup> De Montigny à ———, Jan. 2, 1699. Archives Nationales, Paris K, 1374, 83.

<sup>25</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur, ———, March, 1700.

<sup>24</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier), March, 1700.

<sup>25</sup> Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, 3:541.

<sup>26</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 66:253. In contemporary official Jesuit lists or registers the date of Bineteau's death is recorded as December 25, 1699. Rochemonteix 3:541, has the date December 24 of the same year, apparently a mistake.

<sup>27</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 66:25.

<sup>28</sup> Bouvart ad ———, October 5, 1700. General Archives, S. J.

<sup>29</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier), March, 1700. Margry, 5:407.

<sup>30</sup> Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Id.*, 10-14.

<sup>32</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier?), March, 1700.

<sup>33</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier?), March 7, 1700.

<sup>34</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 64:278.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*, 64:149.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*, 66:25,37.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*, 65: 55.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*, 66:257.

<sup>39</sup> Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 550.

<sup>40</sup> Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

<sup>41</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur, March, 1700.

<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, the Seminary Directors in Paris were urging upon Mr. Bergier that St. Cosme be prevented from going to the Panis, where it would be impossible to send him supplies.

<sup>43</sup> Bergier à ———, May 4, 1702.

<sup>44</sup> Bergier à ———, June 14, 1700.

<sup>45</sup> Bouvart ad ———, October 5, 1700. General Archives, S. J.

<sup>46</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 65:103.

<sup>47</sup> ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 9: 342, art. "The first Settlement on the site of St. Louis.

<sup>48</sup> The French "establishment" found by Le Sueur at the mouth of the Saline (——— County, Missouri) in June, 1700, was apparently nothing more than a salt-camp, probably occupied only at certain seasons of the year. Penicault (*Relation*, Margry, 5:407), the chronicler of the Le Sueur expedition, gives no particulars about it. "The Illinois and the French came there to obtain their salt." So also de Tonty in his *Relation* of 1700 (*Thought*, September, 1926, p. 205.) "Une fontaine (at the Saline) ou nous faisons du Sel."

The existence of the French-Indian settlement at the mouth of the Des Peres, long a matter of vague tradition only (the Des Peres, i. e. "the Fathers' River") has been established on a basis of contemporary documentary evidence by the Rev. Laurence Kenny, S. J., of St. Louis University in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 1:151-156. That the settlement was located on the right bank of the Mississippi a short distance below the site of St. Louis is made certain by Father Bergier's correspondence, supplemented by other eighteenth-century testimonies. For its exact location we have the Bergier statement (repeated elsewhere in his letters) that it was two or three leagues below Cahokia. There is always more or less of uncertainty as to the linear value of the term "league," as used by the French in colonial America. Taking the term as used by Bergier to represent two and a half or three miles (French marine league), the Des



Peres village is placed by him at some five or seven miles below Cahokia. This would locate it some distance below the Des Peres river. (D'Artaguiette's *Journal* reduces the distance. "June 6 [1723] at daybreak we embarked and came to get breakfast at the old village of the Cahokias, which is on the left as you ascend, a league and a half distant from the Cahokias." Newton D. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, New York, 1916, p. 80.)

That the Kaskaskia settlement was actually at the mouth of the Des Peres is established beyond doubt by the statement occurring in a Seminary Memoir of 1735: "the river du pont issues likewise from a marsh and courses with a gentle flow into the Mississippi almost opposite the old village of the Kaskaskia." The mouth of the river Du Pont is almost directly across from the mouth of the Des Peres. Furthermore, the same Memoir declares that among the advantages of the old village-site of the Kaskaskia was a "river to harbor the boats." "The old village of the Kaskaskia is regarded with reason as a very advantageous site for the stone-fort [future Fort Chartres], which the Court orders built in the Illinois. Limestone, wood for construction, a river to harbor the boats, a view over the Mississippi about two leagues up and two leagues down, the rocky bluff which slopes very gently down to the Mississippi, a fine prairie adjoining said bluff, the Mississippi which would be under the protection of the fort, the Missouri, too, which empties into the river five leagues from here on the west side of the said river and the Illinois river which mingles its waters therewith eleven leagues from here on the west [east], all these considerations would seem to insist on the necessity of building the fort in question in this place, as is very much the talk now. In this case the Seigneurie of the Tamarois would soon be established from one end to the other." *Explication du plan et établissement de la Seigneurie de la Mission des Tamarois*. Des Tamarois, April 12, 1735. Laval Mss.

As to whether the Kaskaskia village stood north or south of the Des Peres, evidence to settle this point is furnished by a De Lisle map of 1703, which seems to locate the village on the north bank and therefore within the present municipal limits of St. Louis. (This map is reproduced in Clark. More decisive, however, is a map in the French archives, Department of the Marine, dated Paris, May 19, 1732, and based upon data gathered by Diron D'Artaguiette in his ascent of the Mississippi in 1719. It clearly indicates the "ancient village de Cahokia" as being on the north bank of the Des Peres. A photostat copy of this map is in the Karpinski collection of maps from the French Archives, a set of which is in the Newberry Library, Chicago. It is reproduced in the *Missouri Historical Society Review*, June, 1928.

The Des Peres village was abandoned by the Kaskaskia in the spring of 1703 for a new settlement on the banks of the Kaskaskia river in Randolph County, Illinois.

<sup>40</sup> Edward Joseph Fortier, *The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission* in *Transactions of Illinois Historical Society*, 13:238.

<sup>41</sup> Bergier à ———, March 13, 1702.

<sup>42</sup> Bergier à ———, April 13, 1701.

<sup>43</sup> Bergier à ———, March 13, 1702; April 13, 1701.

<sup>44</sup> Taschereau, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*, pp. 8-10. Margry, *op. cit.*, 4:635.

<sup>55</sup> The account in the text follows for the most part Rochemonteix *op. cit.*, 3:571-572. Taschereau makes no mention of any voluntary withdrawal of the Jesuits from the controversy. However, Bergier, in a letter of June 15, 1702, to be cited later, refers to De Lamberville's provisional surrender of the mission in dispute, pending a decisive order from the King. As a matter of fact, the Jesuits retired from the Tamaroa mission even before the final settlement of the affair at Auch in June, 1702, became known to them. (The sessions of the commission were held at Auch and the "agrement" was signed there.) Rochemonteix cites a clause, presumably from the "agrément" to the effect that "the Ohio posts are in the territory of the Jesuit missions." This clause is not found in the text of the document as reproduced in the Laval Mss (Illinois Historical Survey). The only Jesuit mission on the Ohio at this period was the one conducted for a brief period at Juchereau's attempted settlement on or near the site of Cairo, Illinois.

<sup>56</sup> Bergier à ———, June 15, 1702.

<sup>57</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 66:37.

<sup>58</sup> Bergier à ———, June 25, 1702.

<sup>59</sup> Bergier à ———, June 12, 1704.

<sup>60</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 66:37.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.*, 66:39.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.*, 66:25.

<sup>63</sup> Bergier à ———, March 1, 1703.

<sup>64</sup> Bergier à ———, December 17, 1702. Writing from the Des Peres village July 5, 1702, to Father de Lamberville, Father Marest makes a brief reference to the difficulties with Mr. Bergier: "Inform him [Mr. Bergier] of the ruling by which the vicars-General have no right to visit our churches or to hear confessions in them without our consent. I am convinced that these missions will receive rude shocks, they were beginning to be on a good footing. This caused jealousy in the minds of the gentlemen of the missions etrangers, who have come to take them from us. God grant that they may leave them in a better condition than we have done." (*Jesuit Relations*, 66:37). It appears improbable that mere jealousy dictated the entrance of the Seminary priests into the field of the Mississippi Valley missions. Yet there seems to be no reason to doubt of Father Marest's sincerity in taking this narrow view of the situation.

<sup>65</sup> Bergier à ———, March 4 (?); April 16, 1703.

<sup>66</sup> *Margry, op. cit.*, 5:405-7. Cahokia was originally on or very close to the east bank of the Mississippi. Victor Collet, visiting the place in 1796, found it a mile inland from the river. D'Artaguiette, who was in the "French village" in 1723, places the Indian village an eighth of a league (about a third of a mile) north of the former. A contemporary description of unknown authority and date (possibly 1720 or shortly after) has these particulars: "The real prairie of the Cahokias (where the gentlemen of the Missions are established as well as the Illinois who have named the village of the Cahokias) is about two leagues long from the southwest to the northeast, by three-quarters of a league wide in the most prominent place, so that it nearly forms a long square. It is bounded to the northwest by a small fringe of woods about a half league wide. This projects from an arm of the Mississippi nearly up to the heights beyond which there is another prairie, but I have never seen it." (*Transactions of the*

*Illinois State Historical Society*, 13:239). Present-day Cahokia is apparently on the site of the original French village.

<sup>61</sup> This letter of Bergier's is reproduced in Fortier's article cited above. Cf. note 49.

<sup>62</sup> Bergier à M. Tremblay, July 3, 1703.

<sup>63</sup> These details are from Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

<sup>64</sup> De Montigny à ———, Jan. 2, 1699.

<sup>65</sup> St. Cosme à Monseigneur [St. Vallier?], March, 1700.

<sup>66</sup> Bergier à ———, April 16, 1703.

<sup>67</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 66:137. Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine, made a personal appeal, June 17, 1703, to Bishop St. Vallier for a division of the Lower Louisiana mission-field between the Seminary priests and the Jesuits. Margry, 4:634.

<sup>68</sup> *Id.*, 66:132.

<sup>69</sup> *Id.*, 66:257.

<sup>70</sup> *Id.*, 66:261. An old breviary in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, gives the date November 9, 1707, for Father Bergier's death. The Frenchman who attended Mr. Bergier on his deathbed was Michael Bisailon, who had come down from Canada with Father Gravier. He accompanied de Montigny's party from the Illinois to the Arkansas. He later brought "a hundred cabins under the obedience of the King at Mr. Bergier's mission at Kaos, which gave him great pleasure. He remained with Mr. Bergier to render him and all the Indians every sort of service, assisted at Mr. Bergier's death and placed his effects in the hands of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers." Taschereau, *op. cit.*, note 6.

The exact location of Mr. St. Cosme's chapel, the original church of the Holy Family, (Father Pinet's Indian chapel probably having some other name), cannot be determined. When D'Artaiguette visited Cahokia in 1723 he found Mr. Mercier's church to be in the French settlement, the Indian village being an eighth of a league to the north. In 1735 Mr. Mercier was soliciting contributions from Canada for the new church "in the Indian village," asking among other things for "a little banner on which should be painted the Holy Family, patron of the mission." It does not seem likely that there were two Cahokia churches at this time, one for the Indians and one for the French. Though Mr. Mercier locates the new church in the "Indian village," he very probably uses the term as a general designation for Cahokia, as embracing both Indian village and French settlement. (As a matter of fact a Cahokia census of Mercier's time credits the mission with only one church. *Recensements*, 1706-1731, Library of Louisiana State Historical Society, New Orleans). However, cf. *American Public Lands*, 2:160: "On the river L'Abbé above Cahokia about twelve miles, near where the French church stood, etc." Father St. Pierre's church of 1799 or earlier is still standing, probably on the very site of St. Cosme's and Bergier's chapel. An iron cross, said to have come from the original Cahokia Church, has been planted immediately in front of the Chicago Marquette Memorial Cross at the junction of Damen Avenue and the Chicago River. However, the Cahokia pastor questioned the authenticity of the relic at the time it was brought to light, declaring it to be of comparatively recent origin. Cf. *Catholic Historical Researches*, 23:76. At least five Cahokia churches can be accounted for. (1) Mr. St. Cosme's chapel erected in March, 1699; (2) Father Pinet's erected in



1700; (3) Mr. Mercier's erected approximately in 1735; (4) Father St. Pierre's dating from 1799 or some years earlier; (5) the present church of stone built in 1887.

<sup>77</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 66:268.

<sup>78</sup> *Memoire sur l' établissement de la Mission des Tamaroa* (Laval Mss.). Illinois Historical Survey.

<sup>79</sup> *Memoire*, etc., *ut supra*. From the very beginning the Seminary insisted on the Tamaroa post as a base of supplies for the missions which it hoped to establish along the Missouri. (Cf. Garraghan, *The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History*, in *Thought*, September, 1926). A Seminary official in Paris, commenting point by point on a letter of de Montigny's, July 17, 1700, written on board the *Merode*, writes: "We will willingly cede to the Jesuits the missions chosen by Father Du Ru (on the lower Mississippi) if the Tamaroa remain to us to facilitate the missions of the Missouri and the Akasas (Arkansas?), which we prefer to the others as being farthest removed from the French and consequently promising more fruit, although their expenses are far greater." Laval Mss., p. 30. The Quebec Seminary asked and obtained from the Company of the Indies in 1732 a grant of four leagues *en franc alleu* (in fee simple), a tract of land known subsequently as the Cahokia Commons. A well documented account by Joseph J. Thompson of the vicissitudes of this historic property may be read in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 6:102.

<sup>80</sup> Garraghan, *The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History*, in *Thought*, 1:193 (September, 1926).

<sup>81</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 69:223.

## THE DEATH OF FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE

The following account of the death of Father Marquette was published for the first time by Rochemonteix in the third volume of his *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII e Siecle*. The original, which is in Latin, is by some unknown hand though there are indications that the author was Father Cholenec, who obtained his information from the voyagers who were with Marquette in his last moments. The English version here set before the readers of the REVIEW is due to Mr. Leonard J. Fencl, S.J., of St. Louis University. (Editor)

Father Jacques Marquette was born at Laon in Picardy, a province in the part of France which borders on Belgium. After he had spent several years in the Society, he was sent to Canada, where in a short time, by stupendous labors for the Christian religion and by the practice of all the virtues proper to his high calling, he won for himself the name of Apostle of the Illinois. He proposed to himself as a model the Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, whose character and zeal for the propagation of the faith he strove to reproduce in himself. To this end, in imitation of his exemplar, he had mastered several languages, especially that of the Algonquins, of the Hurons, and of the Illinois. Nor was he satisfied with the enormous task which he had undertaken, of civilizing the upper Algonquins, known as the Ottawas. He made expeditions into the remotest parts of this region to a distance of eight hundred leagues, in order to preach the mysteries of our faith and make known the God-Man to those races who had never heard of Him before.

But never was Marquette more like to Xavier than in death. He envied the death of the great Apostle who breathed forth his soul in a little hut abandoned by all the world; and he daily begged of God the same end for himself. To obtain this he had recourse to the merits of Christ and the favor with God of the most pure Virgin, whom he venerated with special devotion. The event showed that his prayers were not in vain. For it was in a tent hastily thrown up that he also, deprived of all human aid, met his death on the shore of the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan], in the midst of the toils of a laborious mission.

The previous year he had undertaken a very great journey to the Gulf of Mexico. Of the numerous tribes he encountered in the course of this journey, and whom he instructed in the mysteries of our

faith, none seemed more fit to receive his instructions than the Illinois. They are a tribe of a gentle and docile disposition, and even very humane, considering that they are savages. For this reason they are called the Illinois, which word in their own native tongue means "humane"; as if they alone were human, and all the rest but wild barbarians. Besides, he had instructed some of them in the essentials of the Christian faith on a former occasion, when he was staying among some savages who dwell on the extreme shore of Lake Superior or Tracy, where the banks come quite close together and converge to form a bay, which was named after the Holy Ghost. This was a frequent rendezvous of the Illinois for the purpose of trade. When he arrived at their villages, he found them so eager to receive the mysteries of our faith that they would not let him go away except on the condition that after having rendered an account of his journey he should either return to them himself or at least have another sent to them to instruct them in the law of Christ. And he did not fail to fulfil his promise. As soon as he had somewhat recovered from the bloody flux with which he had been grievously afflicted the whole summer after such great labors, he obtained from the Superior of the Fathers among the Ottawas to be allowed to return to his beloved Illinois and plant among them the first foundations of our religion. And so he set out in the month of November with only two Frenchmen from the so-called bay of the fetid (thus the Frenchmen call the people who occupy this bay, not from the smell of their bodies, but from the salt water,—misconstruing the language of the savages, among whom whatever is pungent or emits either an agreeable or fetid odor goes by the same name). During the month they spent in navigating the Lake of the Illinois he enjoyed moderately good health. But as soon as snow began to fall, he was again seized with the bloody flux and forced to stop on the bank of the river which flows out of that lake towards the land of the Illinois. Here, in a cabin which they built from the bark of trees, he spent the whole winter. His strength was so shattered by the daily increasing malady that he had no doubt that God had heard his prayer. To his companions at any rate he declared that he would die of this malady, on this very journey. To prepare himself the better for death he began the winter with the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius, which he performed with sentiments of great devotion and an abundance of divine consolation. The remaining time he devoted entirely either to pious intercourse with God and His saints, or to the fostering of piety in his companions, to whom he administered twice a week the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist. His health had already been despaired of; still his solicitude for his beloved Illinois prompted him to ask his comrades to join him in prayer that God should not call him out of this world before he had brought the name of Christ to that region. A novena of prayer in honor of the Immaculate Con-



ception of the Blessed Virgin was begun for this intention. And it was not in vain. Immediately, beyond all expectation, the violence of strength was broken from his recent and protracted illness; but the disease left him, and as soon as the river was open, he resumed the journey, on the 29th of March, 1675. The season was severe, and his Charity of Christ urged him on. After eleven days on the water he reached their village, to his own delight no less than that of the savages, who received him as a man sent from heaven, or as their own father. Thinking that he should take advantage of this fervor of the savages, he at once, and for several successive days, called together the chiefs and elders, laid before them the reason of his coming, and then visited each dwelling, preaching Christ everywhere. The whole village flocked to him in crowds every day. As the narrow limits of the cabins could not hold the crowds of savages that flocked together eager to see and hear him, he decided to hold an assembly of the entire tribe outside the village.

An extensive meadow near the village was selected for this purpose. Hither the savages gathered at once from all the dwellings. The place was decorated according to the custom of the tribe with the most precious ornaments, as rushmats and bear-skins, with which they paved the ground. Then from poles and lines gorgeously hung with Chinese silks the Father suspended four images of the Blessed Virgin, so that they could easily be seen from all directions.

There were present at the council five hundred chiefs and elders, who sat in a circle around the Father. All the youth stood around, to the number of about one thousand five hundred men, besides a great crowd of women and children; for there were easily five or six hundred families in the village. So the Father began with ten gifts, according to the custom of the tribe, to explain to the savages who were waiting in suspense, the reason why he had undertaken the journey, and to unfold before them the principal mysteries of our faith. Thus he preached Christ crucified as it were before the public assembly of the whole tribe, on the eve of that momentous day on which Christ once gave His life on the cross in the midst of the most cruel torments in order to establish man's freedom. Surprisingly enough, he was so fluent in the Illinois tongue that he had no need of an interpreter, unless perhaps for the purpose of being heard by the more distant. Thereupon he offered the heavenly Victim to the Father for the salvation of the whole tribe, while the savages, struck with a kind of holy awe, marveled at the novelty of so great an act. During the sacrifice he was overwhelmed with such an abundance of divine consolation that the fervor of his melting heart appeared in his eyes and whole countenance.

On the third day, the day on which is commemorated the Resurrection of Christ, he again celebrated the sacred mysteries amid the same splendor before the same crowd of savages.

Consequently such a high opinion of God's law took possession of their minds that all were already thinking of embracing it. But the Father's superior and the violence of his daily increasing malady were calling him elsewhere. When the savages learned of this, they all earnestly besought him not to leave them alone, but to return to them as soon as possible: or, if his health should not allow that, at least to send them another in his stead. It was a hard thing indeed to be torn away from his dear Illinois; but his Superior was summoning all the Fathers to Mackinaw. The day set for the departure was come. The savages, as a token of their regard, brought him gifts individually which the great lover of evangelical Poverty declined. But at least he permitted them to carry his baggage upon their shoulders as a token of their affection for their beloved father. So they accompanied him for about thirty leagues till they came to the place where the waters fall in a dashing torrent from an elevation, rendering it necessary to carry the baggage and even the canoe on one's shoulders to a lower point of the river, where the current is less violent. When the savages had rendered their Father this last assistance, they were finally obliged to part with him, not without great grief on either side. Still they found consolation in the hope that he would soon come back to them. But God had decreed otherwise. Scarcely had he reached the lake of the Illinois when his strength was so broken that he could not move his body, and had scarcely any use of his limbs. Still there remained a hundred leagues of the journey; for so extensive is the lake in length, and they had to follow the southern shore, which was altogether strange to them and hence hard to navigate, for they had come along the northern shore. And so his comrades were already giving up hope of being able to bring him alive to Mackinaw. But he consoled and encouraged them with loving words to continue the journey and suffer gladly for God whatever labor they had to undergo; and not to give up, for the divine assistance would be with them after his death. Throughout the illness he retained at all times his own personality and a wonderful peace of soul which relied on the will of God alone, and which he manifested in his words as well as in the cheerfulness of his whole countenance, so that one would imagine that he was already enjoying before his time the delights of heaven. For he was occupied with the sole desire of heaven. Thither he directed his prayers and all his thoughts, and for the journey thither he prepared himself with

all the strength of his soul. With his eyes fixed on the things of God, for whole days he held sweet converse now with Christ our Lord or His Blessed Mother, now with his angel guardian, and again with all the Saints of heaven. From time to time he was heard to break forth into such words as these: "*Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, etc.*" [I believe that my Redeemer liveth]; "*Maria Mater gratiae, Mater Dei memento mei,*" etc. [Mary Mother of grace, Mother of God, remember me]. He had read to him every day some pious book; and in his last days he requested that a meditation on death, which he carried always with him, should be added to this. In reciting his priestly office he was so exact that not even on the last day of his life, although not only his strength but also his eyesight was entirely weakened, could he be induced to omit any part of it. On the morning before his death he joyously informed his companions that on the following day he must depart. Accordingly he proceeded to make all preparations more painstakingly. Throughout that and the following day he instructed them how they should conduct his funeral; what sort of a place they should choose for his grave; how they should arrange his feet, hands, and face; and how moreover he wished a cross erected over his grave. One would have imagined that he was preparing the funeral of another, so completely did he retain his self-possession throughout. Even three hours before his death he instructed them that as soon as he was dead, and also during the burial, according to the rites of the Church, they should ring a little bell, which he kept with his sacred utensils.

While he was giving these instructions, there came into view at some distance a hill which rose somewhat above its surroundings at the mouth of a certain river. When he caught sight of it, thinking it a fit burial-place for his body, he said that here indeed he should rest. His companions pleaded that a good deal of daylight still remained, and that they ought rather make use of the time to continue their journey. He did not oppose them; but scarcely had they passed the mouth of the river when suddenly a strong contrary wind arose and drove back their craft. Turning back, they entered the river, and directing their canoe to shore, they landed the invalid on the eminence, where they built a fire, hastily raised a hut from the bark of trees, and laid him down to rest.

When the sick man saw himself in that wilderness all alone—for his companions were occupied in bringing up the luggage from the boat—, and just like his exemplar Xavier in his want of all things, he could hardly restrain his joy. He thanked God for the great



blessing of having had all his prayers fulfilled; and he made repeated acts of all the virtues, which he had continually exercised throughout his illness.

Then, turning to his companions who were absorbed in violent grief, after a few words of consolation he stirred them up as much as he could to every Christian duty and virtue, and to the hope that they would be accompanied by the assistance of God, for the promotion of whose glory they had come to those distant regions. He expressed his gratitude to them for having rendered him such faithful assistance with such sincere tokens of charity, and said he would be mindful of them in heaven, begging their pardon for any trouble or offense he might have given them, and asking them to beg pardon for him of all his associates dwelling among the Ottawas. Finally he bade them confess their sins and purified them with the Sacrament of Penance. He himself, as a priest was not accessible, handed over to them in writing the faults he had committed since his last confession to be taken to the Father Superior of his associates among the Ottawas, that he might by his prayers to God obtain their pardon. Then, as he saw that his companions were worn out by the labor of a several days' journey, and being naturally inclined to compassion, he wanted them to take a rest meanwhile, for his hour had not yet come, and said he would arouse them when it was at hand. This he did two or three hours later, when the final death-struggle was already at hand.

They came and cast themselves at his feet, with tears flowing from their eyes. He again embraced them and bade them be of good heart. Then he obtained the holy water which for that very purpose he had blessed eight days before with the solemn rite of the Church, and also his reliquary; and taking the crucifix which was suspended from his neck, he gave it to one of his companions, asking him to hold it before his eyes. Soon he felt his strength fail; and collecting his powers as much as he could, he joined his hands, and with his eyes fixed on the image of Christ, he professed with a fervent and distinct voice that he died a Christian, a son of the Holy Roman Church. Then he thanked God that he died in the Society of Jesus, engaged in the task of spreading the Gospel of Christ; and especially that he died as he had always desired in a hut, devoid of all human help. Then he was silent, and the remainder of the time he spent silently in pious converse with God and the Saints. Still from time to time he broke out into these words, "*Sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus*" [My soul has relied on His word]; and, "*Mater*

Dei, memento mei'' [Mother of God, be mindful of me]. He had asked his comrades to call upon the holy names of Jesus and Mary for him in his last agony, if indeed he himself should fail to do so. Accordingly when one of them did so, the sick man at once invoked Jesus and Mary several times with his dying words. Then suddenly, as if the sight of some heavenly being were before him, he slightly raised his eyes from the image of Christ on which he had held them fixed, as one overwhelmed with a strange joy, or as one in an ecstasy. And he did not cease to contemplate this vision with a feeling of great joy beaming from his eyes, until with a bright and cheerful countenance, without any of the usual shrinking in face or body, he calmly breathed forth his soul on the 18th of May, A.D. 1675, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, having spent twenty-one years in the Society, twelve of them in France, and nine in Canada.

When his comrades had shed many devoted tears of love over the body of their beloved father, they conducted the funeral to the sound of the bell, with the ceremonies he had prescribed, with deep sentiments of grief and filial affection. It was not long after that they experienced the power of his intercession with God. For having erected over the tomb a huge cross to mark the place of his sacred remains, they were preparing to set out on their journey, when one of them, who partly from sorrow and partly from severe pain in his breast had for several days scarcely been able to take food or draw breath, approached the tomb of the good Father full of hope; for the Father had promised that on his coming to heaven he would help him by his prayers to the Blessed Virgin. So kneeling on the ground and pronouncing a short prayer, he took some earth from the tomb. O wonderful prodigy! Hardly had he applied it reverently to his breast, full of confidence, when suddenly all the pain vanished from his heart and the grief from his soul; and with a new joy which now remained with him during the entire voyage, he embarked in the canoe with his companion. Here we should add many things concerning the virtues of so great a man, if we were to write an account of his life. He had blended in his character all the virtues which were fitting a son of the Society of Jesus and a follower of Xavier and an apostle. Inflamed with an ardent zeal for promoting the glory of God, he traversed the remotest parts of this land, and instructed in the law of Christ those nations which up to that time had been unknown to us. To this he added a wonderful agreeableness of character, by which he won the affections of all. He made himself all things to all men; with the French he was a Frenchman, a Huron with the Hurons, an Algonquin with the Algonquins, that he might

win all for Christ. What shall I say of that indomitable courage of his, which prompted him to undertake such a journey when he had scarcely recovered from a protracted illness which entirely shattered his strength! What shall I say of his angelic chastity of mind and body; what of his candor of soul which prompted him to lay open all his innermost sentiments not only to those whom he venerated in the place of Christ, but also to others, so that to know him was to love him! All these virtues were nourished by his ardent spirit of prayer by which his mind, always fixed on heavenly things, enjoyed a sweet familiarity with God.

But the most prominent of his virtues was his tender love for the Holy Mother of God. Though he held all her mysteries in great veneration, he was drawn with particular affection to her Immaculate Conception, so that he could never talk about it either in public or in private without great delight on the part of the listeners. The name of the Immaculate Virgin, as he was wont to call her, he used everywhere, in his letters as well as in familiar conversation. From his early youth he daily offered to her as a tribute of his service the approved prayers commonly known as the Office of the Immaculate Conception; and he encouraged all others to the same practice. What is more surprising, even in boyhood, from the age of nine, he fasted every Saturday in honor of the Virgin conceived without sin. He never failed either to say the mass of the Immaculate Conception on those days on which the regulations of the Church permitted it, or at least to recite the prayer of the Immaculate Conception. A few days before his death he composed a chaplet on this mystery, which thereafter he offered to his Queen daily together with his companions. The chaplet is recited as follows. After the Credo, the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation, the following prayer is said four times: "Hail Daughter of God the Father, hail Mother of God the Son, hail Spouse of the Holy Ghost, hail Temple of the Undivided Trinity; by thy sacred Virginity and Immaculate Conception, most pure Virgin, purify my heart and my flesh, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Then is added once the "Glory be the Father," etc., and the entire is repeated three times. Finally, as a perpetual memorial of his devotion, he named the mission of the Illinois after the Immaculate Conception, in order that they whom he held dearest on earth might be under the care and protection of



her from whom he saw innumerable benefits flowing daily upon himself and the whole human race.

Nor did the holy Mother fail her devoted client. But in order not to relate innumerable instances which it would be tedious to recount here, since we are now concerned only with his death, he died as he had always begged of her, in a hut and on a Saturday, a day which the Church has devoted to the worship of the Mother of God. His comrades have no doubt that she appeared to him, when a few moments before his death, invoking the names of Jesus and Mary as related above, he suddenly raised his eyes a little above the image of Christ and seemed to see this vision before him, with an expression which manifested the ardor and joy of his soul. They certainly were convinced at the time that he breathed forth his soul into the arms of his Blessed Mother.

There has been found among his writings a little note wherein he treats of the manner which God follows in directing those who devote their life to the spread of the Gospel of Christ. From this we may easily learn by what spirit he himself was ruled. He wrote thus to Rev. Father Dablon, the Superior of all the missionaries in Canada, before he had undertaken that momentous journey :

“Under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin I arrived here safe and sound, confident that I follow the call of God, at Whose bidding I am setting out for those nations who are located towards the south. My only object is to obey the will of God in all things. Accordingly I have no fears; nor am I terrified by the councils of so many savage tribes, or even by the Naduessi [Sioux]. (The latter is an extremely warlike nation among the savages, and up till now has molested all that region with slaughter. The tribe is sixty leagues from Lake Superior, and inhabits the bank of the river which flows out of the lake to the west.) One thing I know, that either God will demand satisfaction for my sins and my negligent life, or He will give me some share in His cross, which I have not yet borne since I arrived in this country. Perhaps God will finally grant me this at the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, or at any rate He will send death, to put an end at least to my numerous sins. For this I am preparing myself as far as I can; for the rest, I commend myself entirely to God. I beg your Reverence again and again to remember me and obtain for me by your prayers to God that I may not prove ungrateful and forgetful of so many favors which God bestows upon me with bountiful hand.”

# THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

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FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD AT BUFFALO, N. Y., JULY 29 TO  
AUGUST 1, 1906, RT. REV. CHARLES H. COLTON, D. D., BISHOP  
OF BUFFALO, N. Y., SPONSOR

The Fifth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies convened in Buffalo, N. Y., July 29 to August 1, 1906. The opening services were held at St. Joseph's Cathedral with Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. D. of Milwaukee pontificating. Rt. Rev. Mgr. Nelson H. Baker, V. G. of Buffalo was Assistant Priest. In the sanctuary were: Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J., Bishop C. H. Colton of Buffalo, N. Y.; Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mgr. Wm. Byrne, V. G. of Boston, Mgr. Joseph Schrembs, V. G. of Grand Rapids, Mich. The sermon was delivered by Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin. It was an eloquent, thoughtful and complete explanation of what Catholic Federation should be.

A monster mass-meeting was held Sunday afternoon at which addresses were delivered by Mr. J. T. Smith, Bishop Colton and Mayor Adam. Bishop Colton said among other things; "All must admire the purpose and aims of Catholic Federation. A Federation of the Catholic societies of the country means much for the individual societies, while the power for good which they can exercise when united in one grand central organization is incalculable." Before the mass-meeting closed Archbishop Messmer spoke and explained, that partisan politics has no place in Federation.

On Monday, July 30, a solemn pontifical mass of Requiem was celebrated in St. Michael's Church, Buffalo, with Bishop Colton as celebrant, after which the convention session was opened. Roll call disclosed that 21 States, 9 Dioceses and 14 National Organizations were represented by special delegates.

## PRACTICAL WORK ACCOMPLISHED

The report of the National Secretary disclosed that the Federation had been introduced into 42 States with over 400 county Federations; besides various Catholic Institutions and, and 15 National Organizations were enrolled. Of the practical work accomplished were Federation's activities and investigations in the Congo Free

State asking the administration at Washington not to interfere—that the cruelties supposed to have been committed by Belgium were untrue as testified to by the Belgian Consul, Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Rollens, Vicar Apostolic of the Congo, Prof. Staar and others. The matter of placing Catholic Filipino students in American Catholic institutions, at government expense, was vigorously pursued and as a result Father Vattman, the army chaplain, was appointed by the government to look after the welfare of the Filipino students sojourning in the U. S. A.

The Federation's stand on the divorce evil has met with favorable comment, and at a conference called for at Washington, D. C., at which eminent lawyers and judges took part for the purposes of studying the evil and to find some measure to curb it, Hon. Walter George Smith of Philadelphia, the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Federation, was selected to be the National Chairman of this important investigation commission. Federation activities in the various sections of the country disclosed: Crusades against immoral posters, theatricals and literature; introduction of Catholic books in public libraries; defeat of free text book bills in several States.

Important communications were read from Mr. M. Ersberger, Member of the Reichstag of Germany and of the German Centre; from Count Mendolga Albani of Bergamo, Italy, an officer of the Popolare Azione of Italy; from Bishop Libert H. Borynaems and Mr. Creedon of Honolulu of the Hawaiian Federation; from Bishop Jose De Camargo Barbos of Sao Paulo, Brazil, South America, and from Rev. M. C. Malone of Australia. The most valued communication came from His Holiness Pope Pius X, during the reading of which delegates arose and stood in reverence.

#### LETTER FROM POPE PIUS X ENDORSING FEDERATION

To the President of the Federated Societies of America:

That in union there is strength is evident from the letter you have sent us explaining the manner in which the Federation of Catholic Societies, over which you preside, has been inaugurated, and the extent to which the various associations of which it is composed have thus far done for all in their power to carry out the purpose for which the Federation has been instituted; namely, to extend a helping hand to the clergy in safeguarding Catholic interests; to strive for the Christian education of youth which is the hope of the Church; to further peace and morality in families; to expound Catholic truth in books and periodicals; to combat errors; to foster established works



of Charity and found new ones; finally, to endeavor to renovate public and private life in conformity with the teachings of Jesus Christ.

How much joy this gave to the Sovereign Pontiff can be more easily imagined than described. For you are aware that he has Federations of this kind very much at heart because of the abundant blessings that accrue from them to civil society. Rejoicing therefore at the fruit which you have already gathered, he sees the hope and the promise of still more in the future, and this hope is increased because of the Fifth Congress which you announce is about to be convened in Buffalo, N. Y., at which such a distinguished assemblage of prelates will assist. Meantime the Holy Father expresses the wish that your labors and those of the Federation which has been begun with the prudence worthy of the highest praise may be crowned with the blessing and assistance of God, and as a pledge of his benevolence, he, with all his heart, imparts to you and to each of the Associated societies his Apostolic Benediction.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my own consideration in your regard, and to remain,

Yours most devotedly,

R. CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL.

A great applause greeted the above letter after the National Secretary had read it, and the convention voted that Archbishop Messmer, Bishops McFaul, Colton and Canevin send a cablegram of thanks to the Holy Father and at the same time congratulate him on the third anniversary of his pontificate.

#### MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was presided over by Vice President John B. Oelkers. Much time was given over to the discussion of the "Deaf Mute Cause," "Catholic Indian Missions" and "Church Extension." The speaker for the Deaf Mute Cause was Rev. M. S. McCarthy, S. J.; he stated that there were 40,000 deaf mutes in the United States and that one-half belonged to the Catholic faith. He urged Federation and its allied societies to take an interest in and assist the Deaf Mute Cause.

Father F. Digmann, S. J., the veteran Indian missionary, explained the hardships of the Indian Mission Schools and of the sympathetic interest President Roosevelt had taken in the Indians at the

Bad River Reservation who had been forcibly removed from the Catholic school at Odanah against the wishes of their parents by one of the local governmental agents. The President acted in the interest of the parents.

### CATHOLIC CHURCH EXTENSION ESTABLISHED IN CHICAGO

On the matter of Church Extension Rev. Francis Clement Kelly spoke as follows: "You will remember that at the meeting in Detroit, two years ago, Bishop Hennessey proposed that the matter of Church Extension be taken up, and that the Federation take an active interest in this matter. Toward that end we talked together, Bishop Hennessey and I, and he advised me to begin a series of articles on the subject in the *Eccelesiastical Review*. This was perhaps the foundation of the Church Extension Society. Our first meeting was called in Chicago for the purpose of pushing the work. The purpose, first, is to build little churches in pioneer districts, and also making an effort to reach the immigrants who come to our shores. There is one great question—that question is to save our people. Our Protestant friends have given us good example in the way they have made an effort to reach out and bring in the peoples of the earth. And I tell you they have been very successful. . . . We have now taken up the work of Church Extension and are making an effort to place churches where they are needed. Do you know that 75 per cent of the brain and brawn of the cities come from the country districts? Think it over a minute. You are living here now, but how many of you were raised in the country? The city is not independent of itself, but draws its independence from the country. The future citizens who will fill your pews will be from the pioneer districts. So we cannot ignore them and we must extend and save the faith among them. You might ask, 'have we done anything?' I will answer that we started this movement about nine months ago, and since that time have built twenty-five little churches. This by small donations. So we have done something.

Now, how can you assist us? You can distribute our circulars and you can discuss the question at your society meetings. It is not necessary that you go to the heathens to give help, for you have the poor right here at your door and it is up to you to give a helping hand and keep the faith in your own pioneer district."

## FEDERATION'S RESOLUTION ON CHURCH EXTENSION

The following Resolution on Church Extension was adopted:

"WHEREAS, It is the first duty of Catholics to help save those who rightfully belong to the household of faith, and

WHEREAS, Many of our people have been lost to the faith because they have settled in churchless localities; and

WHEREAS, The immigrant problem is now acute throughout the United States, and the work of providing immigrants with churches and priests is one of primary importance; and

WHEREAS, There has been for years, a manifest need of an organization having for its purpose the support of priests, laboring in the poorer missions of the country; and

WHEREAS, There exists a widespread propaganda on the part of the non-Catholic missionary societies which have for object the perversion of our neglected Catholic brethren; be it therefore

*Resolved*, That the Federation heartily endorses the aims and purposes and methods of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and that it recommends that the allied societies and the members of the Federation support and advance the laudable work of said Catholic Church Extension Society by every means within their power."

At the Monday evening's Massmeeting addresses were delivered by Rev. Francis Clement Kelley (now Bishop of Oklahoma) on "A Dream of Equality," by Rev. F. Digmann, S. J., and Chief Eugene Little, who spoke on the "Indian Missions."

On Tuesday there were two business sessions and certain changes made in the Constitution affecting membership. At the Massmeeting held in the evening addresses were made by Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Iowa, on "Socialism" and by Hon. Justice D. J. Kenefick of the Supreme Court on "Divorce." Bishop Colton of Buffalo closed the meeting with a stirring address.

## CLOSING SESSIONS

At Wednesday's sessions the Convention adopted Resolutions as follows: "Socialism," "Divorce," "Sanctification of the Lord's Day," "Parochial Schools," "Indian Question," "The Stage," "Immigration," "The Press," "Literature," "Church Extension," "Mission to Non-Catholics," "The Language Question in Federation," "The Deaf Mutes and Blind," "Places of Innocent Amusement for Catholic Youth," "Higher Education," "Catholic Educational Association," and "Sympathy with English Catholics."



The Treasurer's Report disclosed: Total receipts, with balance on hand, \$5,427.19; Expenditures \$3,374.25; Balance on hand \$1,060.44.

The following officers were elected: President, Edward Feeney of Brooklyn, N. Y.. Vice Presidents, A. G. Koelble, New York; L. M. McClear, Detroit, Mich.; G. W. Stenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, Edw. Harold, Seneca, Kansas; Color Bearer, Chief Horneloud, Pine Ridge, S. D.; Executive Board: Nicholas Gonner, Dubuque, Ia.; Walter Geo. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thomas H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Peter Wallrath, Evansville, Ind.; J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; Dr. F. Gaudin, New Orleans, La.; P. J. McNulty, N. Y.; Caspar Wolf, St. Louis, Mo.

The Convention adjourned with prayer by Archbishop Messmer.

SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES HELD AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., JULY 14, 15, 16, 17, 1907. RT. REV. FRANCIS S. CHATARD, D. D.,  
BISHOP OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND., SPONSOR

The Sixth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Indianapolis July 14-17, 1907. The convention was opened with pontifical mass at Sts. Peter and Paul's Cathedral with Rt. Rev. Francis Silas Chatard, D. D., as celebrant. His Excellency Most Rev. Diomedee Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, occupied a throne on the right of the sanctuary surrounded by Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee, Wis.; Archbishop J. H. Blenk of New Orleans, La.; Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J.; Bishop D. O'Donoghue, Auxiliary Bishop of Indianapolis, Ind.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. O'Connell of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. Schrembs of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Very Rev. J. Chartrand (now Bishop of Indianapolis), and many priests.

The sermon was preached by Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans, La., which was highly complimentary to the spirit which animated the Federation and the work it was doing. "The Federation," he said, "is rooted in and has its strength in the faith that Jesus Christ was the Son of God and that His Holy Church was founded for the salvation of man. The Federation is a witness to Christ, giving testimony of Him, as the Church has done for the past nineteen hundred years."

## MASSMEETING

At the Massmeeting Sunday evening addresses of welcome were made by Bishop Chartrand of Indianapolis and Mayor Bookwalter. The Mayor in his address took occasion to flay the bigots. He said among other things: "I am a non-believer, but no man can read the history of this American continent, or hear anything of the history of our Nation without being forced to an appreciation of what we owe as a continent to the Catholic Church. We read the stories of Father Marquette, Father Hennepin, La Salle, Joliet, and all those men who traveled through the wilderness and while history tells us that they were actuated by the laudable desire to plant the flag of France over an imperial dominion, still when we read between the lines we know that while that may have been one of the causes, still they bore aloft the cross of the Church, because while but two of them were ordained priests, all four of them had been educated for the priesthood and were members of the Catholic Church.

Today I received from some friend (?) a letter containing a most scurrilous attack on the Catholic Church. Thinking, that possibly this kind friend (?) might be in the audience tonight to learn just what effect that cowardly communication might have on me, I wish to say, as a non-believer, that I recognize the fact that the work of the Catholic Church in America today is second to that of no other religious organization. Know-nothingism has no place in free America . . . ."

The principal address of the evening was delivered by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. Schrembs, V. G., of Grand Rapids, Michigan (now Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio). His subject was "Christ and the Twentieth Century." It was a masterful oration concluding with these stirring words: "We are the children of that blessed Catholic Church which has never surrendered the faith and to which the longing eyes and weary hearts of the earnest believers of disintegrating Protestantism are turning. The same glorious shield of Christ's divinity once held up by the hands of the great Apostle St. Peter to the wandering gaze of a pagan world, is still shining with undiminished splendor in the hands of his successor, our glorious Pontiff Pope Pius X."

## APOSTOLIC DELEGATE SPEAKS

His Excellency Most Rev. Diomede Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, who was the honored guest of the convention, gave a most encouraging address, saying among other things: "Your Federation has always been for me an object of particular interest.

I have carefully followed its steps from the time of its formation up to the stage of its present development. I have praised your endeavors; I have admired your courage, and today I am happy to be present here, in order to give by my presence a more substantial proof of the interest I take in this important Catholic movement."

#### BUSINESS SESSIONS

The first business session took place Monday morning, July 15. National President Edward Feeny and National Secretary Anthony Matre made their reports. These reports disclosed that Federation had now been introduced into 43 States and Territories besides Porto Rico, Hawaii and Philippine Islands. Fourteen National Societies and upward of 125 parishes were enrolled. Among the practical work accomplished since the last convention were: Mr. Walter George Smith's (Chairman of Federation Executive Board) efforts in behalf of uniformity in divorce legislation; Action on the part of the Department of Agriculture at Washington with regard to Sunday labor; Action on the part of the Bill Poster's Association regarding posters of an indecent nature; Action against a national weekly for caricaturing our Holy Father; Protest against the circulation in this country of *L'Asino*, a vile publication published in Italy.

Federation's Resolutions adopted at the previous national convention found hearty endorsements by the secular press of the country, especially Federation's resolution on "Divorce" and "Socialism." Papers commenting favorably were the *New York Times*, *Buffalo Enquirer*, *Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier* and *Buffalo Courier*. A personal endorsement came from President Roosevelt as follows:

"My dear Mr. Matre:—May I, through you, extend to the members of the American Federation of Catholic Societies my warm acknowledgment for the copy of the Resolutions, with their kindly allusion to me. Some of the matter you touch upon in those Resolutions are so important that it would be a particular pleasure to me if I could have the opportunity of seeing you on some occasion when you are in Washington to go over them with you.

"Sincerely yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 25, 1906.

Federation's activities in behalf of the Congo Free State, affecting Catholic interests there, were also reported and a communication from Hon. James Gustavus Whiteley, Consul of the Belgium Congo



Free State, was read which concluded as follows: "I wish to thank you and the Federation for the energy and promptitude with which you have acted in the Congo matter. I have received copies of the letters which you sent to Washington, and I need hardly add that they cover the ground exactly and completely. The effect at Washington seems to have been good and it looks as if the U. S. Senators will not care to meddle with the matter. I need hardly tell you how deeply I appreciate the interest and support of the Federation.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY,  
Consul General.

The National Secretary's Report further disclosed important communications received during the year from Cardinal Richard of Paris on the spoliation of the Church in France; from Archbishop Harty of the Philippines, who said, that "in this distant land it was a comfort to know that we have at our back the sympathy of the Federation." It was also announced that Archbishop J. G. Messmer, one of the leaders of Federation, had been appointed assistant to the throne of His Holiness of Pius X.

During the afternoon session important addresses were delivered by Rev. Charles Warren Currier on "Catholic Indian Missions"; by Archbishop Blenk and Bishop McFaul. The latter told of his visit to Pipe Piux X and how the Holy Father became intensely interested when he explained to him the activities of Federation.

At Tuesday's sessions an "Associate Membership Plan" was inaugurated making it possible for individuals, not affiliated with societies, to join Federation on the plan of the Volksoerem of Germany. Addresses explanatory of this plan were made by Rev. V. Gettlemann, S. J.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. Schrembs; Most Rev. J. G. Messmer, and Bishop McFaul.

Bishop Horstman of Cleveland, Ohio, spoke on Federation's part in politics and said among other things: "Federation has nothing whatever to do with partisan politics. Thank God for that! So far as I know the Catholic Church has never interfered with politics. The public men of Ohio were always my closest friends and we always got along admirably. I once said to President McKinley: 'I can't vote for you because I am a Democrat; and I can't vote against you because you are my friend.' 'Oh, well,' he said, 'that's two votes anyway.' "

Very Rev. A. P. Doyle, of the Apostolic Missionary Union, spoke on the work of the Union and said that 1,008 missions were given to

non-Catholics and 6,178 converts were made. The movement was only ten years old and is growing.

At the Tuesday evening Massmeeting held in Tomlinson Hall, addresses were made by Rev. J. T. Roche, LL. D., of Nebraska, on "Making History"; by Rev. Henry Wenstrupp, S. J., on "Indian Missions." and by Chief Horncloud, a Sioux Indian.

### THE RESOLUTIONS

Wednesday was given over to the discussion of the Resolutions, which after some debate were adopted as the sentiments of the Federation. The Resolutions touched upon the following: "Divorce," "Socialism," "Parochial Schools," "Christian Education," "Discouragement of Attendance at Non-Catholic Institutions," "Missions," "Catholic Press," "Dissemination of Catholic Books," "Immigration," "Fraternal Insurance," "Catholic Encyclopedia," "Aid Societies," "Child Labor." A special committee was named to study the question of the formation of a Catholic Young Men's Association and effecting a plan of co-operation between the Young Men's Institute, a national organization, and the Young Men's National Union. Members of this committee were: Edward Feeney, New York; Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; W. M. Fogarty, Indianapolis, Ind.; Thos. H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.

The Report of the Finance Committee disclosed: Total Receipts, \$3,510.85; Total Disbursements \$2,371.84; Balance on hand \$1,139.01.

The following officers were elected: National President, E. Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Vice Presidents, J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; J. P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill.; G. W. Stenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Henry Wessling, Boston, Mass.; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; Gilbert Harmon, Ohio; Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, C. H. Falk, Kansas; Color Bearer, Chief Horncloud, S. Dak. Executive Board: Nicholas Gonner, Iowa; Walter Geo. Smith, Penn.; Thos. H. Cannon, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Penn.; P. Wallrath, Ind.; Dr. F. Gaudin, La.; C. Wolf, Mo.; F. B. Minahan, Wash.; D. Duffy, Penn. The officers were installed by Bishop James McFaul, who also offered the closing prayer of the Convention, which was to hold its next national convention in Boston, Mass.

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.,

National Secretary.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

**Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast.**—In the California Historical Society Quarterly is appearing a valuable documentary account entitled "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century"; the most recent installment is chapter IV (in the March, 1928, number) on "The Voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo," 1542-1543, accounts of which are not easily accessible. The account of this voyage gives the earliest description we have of the coast of Upper California and of its inhabitants. "Cabrillo sailed from Navidad June 27, 1542, and sailed up the coast to as far north as Point Arena, or one hundred miles above San Francisco. He came in contact with the Indians at San Diego, Santa Catalina Island, and on the Santa Barbara Channel, on which lived the Chumash tribe. It may be truthfully said that not much more is known about the Chumash than what can be read in the pages of this narrative and in the accounts of Sebastian Vizcaino's voyage. When the Franciscan missionaries came to California in 1769 they recognized that the intelligence and standard of living of these Indians were superior to those of others in California they had seen and very shortly began founding missions among them." The comment of the magazine writer that "the effect of these (missions) was extremely disastrous to the Indians, who died off with great rapidity"—*Credat Judaeus Appelles!* The manuscript containing the account of Cabrillo's voyage is reproduced in facsimile, from the original in the Archivo de Indias, followed by a translation. In appendices are printed two other accounts of the expedition, one from Herrera, the other from Lopez de Gomara; four sixteenth-century maps of the west coast are reproduced, one being from a portulan atlas in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

**Catholics in Central New York in the Forties.**—Letters written by Father Adelbert Inama, of the Premonstratensian Order, from central New York in the middle of the last century, are appearing in installments in the Wisconsin Magazine of History, sections VII to IX, printed in the March, 1928, issue, are dated between February 19, 1844, and December 12, 1845. Weather had no terrors for those pioneer Catholics. "One day for which I had announced Sunday-school and confessions in the afternoon a terrific snow-storm commenced. I debated some time whether to go to church or not, as I doubted that there would be anyone there.



Finally I went, however, battling my way with difficulty through the snow for half a mile and, to my shame, found practically every child there, and confessions lasted into the night." In May, 1844, two Catholic churches in Philadelphia, St. Michael's and St. Augustine's, both Irish, a Catholic school for girls, and the rectory of St. Augustine's with a valuable library were burned by fanatics. Fr. Inama's comments on these events are: "As a close observer I saw the storm and the inevitable explosion coming. . . Catholicism had gained greatly thereby; its enemies are silenced and in disgrace. Every influential and honorable man has openly disavowed the bigoted fanatics (Nativists) and they are now permanently destroyed. . . . All anger was directed exclusively toward the Irish and the character of the Germans was even praised in comparison with them. The battle was originally purely political, directed against the foreign-born citizens. The two ruling parties, Whigs and Democrats, are of about equal strength. Thus the foreigners, being almost exclusively Democratic, nearly always threw the victory at the polls to the Democrats. As the Irish naturally, on account of their close organization, almost always determine the election of the Democrats, the Whigs decided to avenge themselves upon them. In order to electrify the masses against them, religion was injected into the political battle." These letters are full of interesting details for the historian. Father Inama signs himself: "Adelbert Inama, M.P., member of the reformed monastery of Canons of St. Norbert at Witten, Tyrol, at present (1844) missionary in America."

**The Western Sea in the Jesuit Relations.**—Passages occurring in the Jesuit Relations in which the existence, location and means of reaching the Pacific Ocean are mentioned have been gathered together by C. S. Kingston under the above title in the June issue of the Oregon Historical Quarterly. In 1728 La Vérendrye, in charge of a fur-trading post at Nepigon north of Lake Superior, was shown by an Indian a birch bark map of the region west of Lake Superior. He and his four sons, all French-Canadians from Three Rivers, "began in 1731 a quest for the Western Sea which reached its climax on New Year's Day in 1743, when the sons became the first Frenchmen who ever saw the Rockies." (See Pageant of America, I, 325; also I, 315, map of their route). The background of geographical knowledge that preceded La Vérendrye's successful expedition was supplied largely by the reports of the missionaries searching for new souls to save, and at the same time furthering exploration by gathering accounts of

these unexplored regions from their Indian converts. According to the Jesuit Father Bobe (1718 or 1720) "the Western Sea was two hundred leagues west of the source of the Mississippi and he suggested no less than six routes that might be followed to reach it." The best, he thought, was "by way of Rainy Lake," in the Lake Superior region, "to a great river flowing west to the ocean." Fr. Charlevoix tried to induce the Council of the Marine in France to send an exploring party either up the Missouri River, or overland through the Sioux country by establishing missions and trading posts. "Some fifty years before the time of the memoir of Father Charlevoix numerous accounts are found in the reports of the Jesuits regarding the geographical problems of the continent including references to the great river that gave access to the ocean on the west. The Jesuits bore the most distinguished part," Mr. Kingston writes, "among the religious orders that carried on missionary work among the Indians. They were keen observers, well educated, and intensely devoted to the cause of spreading the gospel among the Indians. . . . Geographical interest and religious zeal went hand in hand." The earlier Jesuit Relations contain vague allusions to vast expanses of the country stretching westward to the China Sea; but the width of the continent was generally much underestimated. In the Relation of 1659-60 we find reference to three contiguous seas that lie westward from the western end of Lake Superior: one north, one west, and one south. Hudson Bay was supposed to communicate with the northern sea and thus to afford a "northwest passage" to Japan and China—an idea which persisted until 1768, as shown in the Jeffereys map. Another possibility of reaching the western sea was by way of some river flowing to the southwest; and in the Relation of 1661-62 mention is made of a "beautiful river which serves to carry the people down to the great lake. . ." meaning either the bay of St. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico, or the coast of Florida, or else the Vermilion Sea (Gulf of California).

When the missions had advanced far enough to the west to come into contact with the Dacotah linguistic group, more stories of the western seas were told them by the Indians. The expedition of Joliet and Father Marquette in 1673 demonstrated that the Mississippi quite certainly flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and the Western Sea was to be sought by a different route. The Missouri was suggested by Fr. Dablon in his Relation of 1673-74 and by Father Marquette himself. An allusion to "a great lake far away toward the setting sun, the water whereof is very bad," that occurs in a letter from Father André

written in 1676, may well refer to Great Salt Lake. The systematic Relations of the Jesuits to their Superiors in Paris ceased with 1676. Fifty years later, when La Vérendrye was beginning his work of exploration, Father Nau, in a letter dated 1734, writes: Father Aulneau "may next spring set out with an expedition to discover the Western Sea." Later, in 1735, he writes that "Father Aulneau, as robust as he is courageous, has set out for the Western Sea. He will arrive there early next summer." But a tragic fate overcame him. "In June, 1736, he left Fort St. Charles with a party of 20 Frenchmen commanded by Jean-Baptiste de la Vérendrye, eldest son of the explorer. The entire party was surprised and massacred by the Sioux on an island in the Lake of the Woods. The body of Father Aulneau was found kneeling as in prayer with an arrow piercing his head."

**Historical Material in the Ayer Library.**—The Newberry Library, Chicago, a reference library containing over 450,000 volumes, largely specialized in the fields of history and literature, has just issued a pamphlet descriptive of historical source material in the Ayer Collection on the North American Indian, that is now a part of its resources. "No serious student can afford to overlook its resources," we read, "or fail to avail himself of them, who is concerned with the discovery, settlement and early history of America or with the customs, habits, manners, language or history of the native races of North America or of the Hawaiian or the Philippine Islands." The material dealing with the Spanish and French explorations, settlements, and administration of the South, Southwest and West, while those sections were under Spain or under France, is of special interest to Catholic students and writers. Archbishop Plancate of Mexico, when living in exile here in Chicago for five years, wrote his work on the pre-history of Mexico with the aid of Spanish and Latin sources found by him in the Ayer Library.

The pamphlet before us mentions as rare geographical items in this collection: thirteen portolan atlases and eleven portolan charts, all in manuscript, besides 450 other manuscript maps. The collection includes accounts of 180 overland journeys across the plains. Spanish America is covered not only by 1200 volumes, but by some 200,000 typewritten transcripts from Spanish and Mexican archives. The Indians of North America are treated from every point of view (3000 vols.) Translations of the Bible, prayer books and catechisms, many of them the work of Catholic missionaries, will be found among the 2,200 volumes on Indian languages. Graphic systems are represented



by two volumes and eight Aztec pictographic drawings on maguay paper, besides 125 volumes of reproductions of ancient codices and their decipherment.

The Spanish period of the Philippine Islands is well covered by source material. "The printed books (about 900 volumes) are supplemented by some 200 manuscripts and illustrated by nearly 8000 photographs. Eighteen different languages are represented. The pictorial section includes 48 oil paintings, 1232 red chalk drawings of Western Indians from life by Elbridge Ayer Burbank, many other drawings, and 3000 photographs of American Indians."

**French Governors of Louisiana.**—At a luncheon given the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on April 2, 1927, André Lafargue delivered an address on the "French Governors of Louisiana" which has appeared in the September issue of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review. As the address gives a brief survey of this period in Louisiana history, an abstract of it may be found interesting.

To Robert Cavelier de La Salle belongs the honor, the everlasting credit, of having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi River. . . To him, therefore, should have belonged the honor and the prestige of becoming the first governor of the new and magnificent province which he had acquired for his country through his foresight, daring and courage. But fate had decreed otherwise. . . His work would have gone for naught, in so far as France was concerned, had it not been brought to a successful and glorious completion by two men, two brothers, whose names are forever linked with those of Louisiana and New Orleans, Pierre Le Moyne Sieur d'Iberville, and Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville; one, the founder of the Province of Louisiana, the other, the founder of the "Crescent City." Both were born in Montreal. "Fearless, daring, intrepid and brave beyond compare," Iberville led the expedition from Brest, explored the Mississippi delta, and founded Biloxi, the first capital of Louisiana, and later founded its second capital, Mobile. He built a fort called 'La Balize' to guard the entrance to the Mississippi. He died in Havana in 1706 while in command of an expedition sent to harass British commerce. The life-work and accomplishments of Iberville had, says Lafargue, "tremendous influence in welding and shaping the destinies of Louisiana." His brother, Bienville, had the vision to see the importance of establishing a trading post on the river itself, where the products of the rich valley of the Mississippi could be handled. Against opposition he succeeded in obtaining, under the famous John

Law regime in France, the necessary power to begin in 1718 a clearing on the banks of the Mississippi where later arose the great city of New Orleans, named for Philippe duc d'Orleans, regent of France. The seat of government was moved to the new settlement four years later. Under Périer, the second governor, levees were erected along the banks of the Mississippi for eighteen miles above and below New Orleans. Bienville was twice recalled to France and his expeditions against the Natchez Indians, who had surprised and massacred the garrison of Fort Rosalie, were not very successful; yet he is called "unquestionably the greatest of the French governors of Louisiana." The Marquis de Vaudreuil, member of one of the oldest families of French aristocracy, who succeeded Bienville, tried to establish in New Orleans a "little court," after the style of Versailles. His administration was faced with economic and social problems of great difficulty, especially that concerned with the operation of the "Code Noir" and the large increase of the black population. He became governor-general of Canada in 1753 and was succeeded by Kerlérec, a man of stern mould, a soldier and able administrator. Under him began that friction between the government and the intendant,<sup>1</sup> which as time went on waxed in bitterness and intensity and became "a most unfortunate phase of French colonial life in Louisiana." Kerlérec was followed by D'Abbadie. In 1763 Louisiana was ceded to Spain; but the terms were kept secret for two years and meanwhile, when D'Abbadie died in 1765, Spain had not yet taken possession of Louisiana. Aubry, who succeeded him, was concerned in the trial and execution of La Frenière, Villère, and other colonists who resisted the cession of Louisiana. The last governor (for twenty days only) was Pierre Clement de Laussat.

**Father Rodriguez Expedition, 1581-1582.**—The Gallegos Relation of the expedition made by Father Austin Rodriguez and Captain Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado to New Mexico in 1581-1582, has appeared in English translation in the *New Mexico Historical Review* for July-October, 1927. The original is in the General Archives of the Indies at Seville; but a transcript of the manuscript is in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago. The translation is the work of George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. The expedition

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<sup>1</sup> "The intendant," writes John Fiske (*New France and New England*, p. 102), "was an officer charged with enforcing a minute system of regulations in the colony, and incidentally of keeping a watch upon the governor's actions, according to the universal system of surveillance for which the old regime was so notable."

is of particular interest because it started that series of events which led directly to the permanent occupation of the Rio Grande country by the Spaniards. Coronado had visited the region in 1540 and Ibarra in 1565 "to investigate the rumors that had reached him in New Vizcaya of the Pueblo region"; but both expeditions were barren of permanent results. "At San Bartolomé was stationed a friar, Augustin Rodriguez, who was stirred with missionary zeal by the tales of a settled native society in the interior." Father Rodriguez secured the permission of the viceroy to investigate the reports of the new land. The party, consisting of three friars, Fathers Rodriguez, López, and Santa María, accompanied by nine soldiers and nineteen Indian servants, set out on June 5, 1581, from Santa Bárbara. The account of their travels should be read to be appreciated. Their route was up the west bank of the Rio Grande, reaching the Pueblo country on August 21, 1581. They visited fifty-seven pueblos in all. In September they left the Rio Grande and explored the Santa Fé, thence to the Galisteo valley. "Here Father Juan de Santa María determined to return to Mexico and did so, alone, over the protests of the soldiers." Three days later he met his death. The party returned to the Rio Grande which they then descended, exploring other valleys and visiting Zuñi. Having made a through exploration of the province, they returned to New Spain down the Rio Grande. "Thus had the Rodriguez expedition 'discovered' a vast region in which the natives had attained an advanced stage of culture." The vice-royalty set to work to effect its subjugation; but it was not until 1595 that Oñate of Zacatecas finally succeeded.

**Governors of Spanish East and West Florida.**—A convenient list of the eight governors of Spanish East Florida from 1784 to 1821, with exact dates of their administrations, and of the seventeen governors of Spanish West Florida between 1781 and 1821, is reproduced from an official copy, preserved in the State Department, in the October, 1927, issue of the Florida Historical Society Quarterly. The governors of East Florida for the period mentioned were: Zéspedes, Quesada, Morales, White, Kindelan, Estrada, Coppinger. The governors of West Florida were: O'Neill, White, Gelabert, Folch y Juan (two terms), St. Maxent (four terms), Collell, Zuniga (two terms), Maurigne (two terms), Soto, Masot, Callava.

**Early Jesuits in Michigan.**—The Michigan History Magazine for October, 1927, contains a readable sketch of early Jesuits who labored in Michigan or around the Great Lakes in the seventeenth cen-



tury, written by Catherine Frances Babbitt. "The cross was planted in the west on the soil of Michigan in 1641 when these missionaries first announced the Gospel to the Ojibways at Sault Ste. Marie, which name was given that place by Fathers Raymbault and Jogues." This was the oldest European settlement within the present limits of Michigan; it languished later but was re-established by Fathers Allouez, Dablon and Marquette. For three years these illustrious priests "were employed in evangelizing the vast regions that extended from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior and inland to adjoining tribes in northern Michigan, southern Michigan, and northern Illinois." Raymbault, who died in 1642, was the first Jesuit to die in Canada. In 1659 Father Ménard, "his hair white with age and his face scarred with the wounds he had received at the hands of the savages, founded a mission near Keweenaw on Lake Superior and in the year 1661 he lost his life in an attempt to reach the Indians dwelling near the Noquet Islands in Green Bay, Wisconsin." He was followed in 1665 by Father Allouez, the "Francis Xavier of the American Missions," who preached in the country around the Great Lakes for thirty-two years, to twenty different tribes and baptized more than 10,000 souls. He passed the last years of his life among the Miamis, where he died in 1689, at what is now Niles, Michigan. The ground on which Notre Dame University stands was conveyed to its founder, Rev. Edwin Sorin, by Father Badin in 1841.

**Some Local Catholic Indiana History.**—Local church history is often difficult for the student to get. The Indiana History Bulletin for August, 1927, devoted to an "Archaeological and Historical Survey of Parke County," Indiana, has brief accounts of the small Catholic communities in the county. "There are four Catholic churches in Parke County, located some distance apart, and the membership of each society is small. Reverend C. E. Riebenthaler, who lives at Diamond, officiates at all of these churches." Catholic services at Rockville began at the home of Martin Ryan in 1854. "The first mass was read by a priest from Terre Haute. Reverend Highland was then appointed to the Rockville mission. About that time many workmen came to Rockville and vicinity to work on the railroad that was being constructed from Terre Haute to Rockville. A number of them settled here permanently and constituted the main body of the Catholic church. Services were held at the residence of Patrick Riordan and other members for about twelve years, until a small house was built on lot 4 of the west addition of Rockville under the leadership of

Father Minerod. Several priests officiated after Father Minerod's time, John Burk, John Fitzgerald, Maurice O'Sullivan, John and Richard Bowman. About twenty years after the first house was built the society moved to lot 74 of the original plat of Rockville." Short paragraphs are given upon the local congregations at Montezuma, Diamond and Mecca.

**Green Bay in Early Days.**—"Two major incentives entered into the discovery and exploration of the territory now known as Wisconsin: the enormous profits to be derived from the fur trade, and the desire to convert the savage tribes to Christianity." So writes W. A. Titus in a chapter of his "Historic Spots in Wisconsin," contributed to the September issue of the Wisconsin Magazine of History. "A few brave and zealous priests followed the trails of the *coureurs de bois* and strove nobly and unselfishly to counteract the debasing influence of these forest adventurers." The early explorers of Green Bay were led naturally into that bend of Lake Michigan on account of the habit of skirting the northern shores in their voyages from Canada into the Great Lake region of the west. The first was Jean Nicolet in 1634, a "young man of extraordinary talent for dealing with the savages. By residing among the tribes to the eastward for a number of years prior to this time, he had become thoroughly familiar with Indian languages and dialects and with savage customs." He was the man selected by Champlain, when governor of New France, to bring him reports of the newly found regions. But he kept no journal, and so meagre is the account of his explorations, written by a priest after the death of the explorer, that the extent of his journeyings has since been the subject of much controversy. Radisson and Grasseilliers came to Green Bay in 1658, but secretly, because their trip was unauthorized by the French authorities. In 1670 Father Claude Dablon, superior of the Jesuits, came to the mouth of the Fox River to settle differences that had arisen between the Indians and the French traders. But Father Claude Allouez had preceded him by a year and "in 1671 he established the mission of St. Francois Xavier at De Pere Rapids, six miles up the river. . . In 1673 Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet arrived at the Bay on their long journey to the upper Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. On their return some months later, Marquette spent considerable time at the St. Francois Xavier mission." Hither was brought the "Griffon," the first sailing vessel to pass the straits and plow the waves of Lake Michigan, and thence she departed on her ill-fated voyage. Nicolas Perrot,

who came to Green Bay in 1667 and again in 1684 or 1685, may be regarded, according to M. M. Quaife, the learned secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as "the first governor of Wisconsin" because as commandant of La Baye his jurisdiction extended over all dependencies to the westward. "Like Nicolet, Perrot was a wilderness diplomat, everywhere beloved by the Indian tribes with whom he came in contact. Other well-known explorers of the French period who visited the Bay were Duluth, Le Sueur, Lahontan and Charlevoix."

**The Jesuits' Mill of Huronia.**—The Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada (3d series, volume 20, for 1926) contain a brief description by James H. Coyne of an interesting relic of the Jesuit Huron Mission located in the region east of Georgian Bay, Lake Huron. In 1870 while settlers were clearing land in the district of Parry Sound in Georgian Bay, "a bronze bowl 7 1-4 inches in height, three-eighths of an inch thick, with an inside diameter of seven inches at the top and five inches at the bottom," was discovered by, and is now in the possession of William J. Beatty, ex-mayor of the town of Parry Sound. "Two grotesque heads like gargoyles stand out on opposite sides for handles. The fleur-de-lis appears in six places around the bowl. . . Immediately under the rim the date is moulded in capitals: *Faict l'an 1636.*" The Huron Mission was in charge of the Recollects from 1615 to 1628. Father Breboeuf, S. J., who closed the Recollect Mission in 1629, promised the Hurons to return, but was unable to do so and to reopen the work of the mission until 1634. "As Superior of the Huron Mission he remained in control for fifteen years except for brief periods of absence while engaged in founding other missions. His labours ended only with his death after frightful tortures at the hands of the Iroquois invaders in March, 1649." It is the surmise of Mr. Coyne that the mill or mortar was a gift of the French King or Queen—indicated by the fleur-de-lis—to Father Breboeuf for use in grinding wheat fine for flour with which to make the sacred wafers; that when the Hurons were forced to flee from their country by the terrible Iroquois, they tried to take their precious mill with them in a canoe, but were forced to abandon it—as it weighs 36 pounds—at the beginning of a four-mile portage on the shore of Trout Lake, where it was found. A cut and a map on which the probable route of its wanderings is traced form illustrations of the article.

**Catholic Missions Among the Texas Indians.**—The Southwestern Historical Quarterly is printing a translation from the Spanish



of early descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians and of the labors of Spanish missionaries among them. Three installments have appeared; the latest, in the July issue, containing two letters from Fray Francisco Hidalgo, one addressed November 20, 1710, to Fray Isidro Cassos and the other November 4, 1716, to the Viceroy. The first describes some religious beliefs. "The Indians say they have two children from God whom they call in their language *coneses*, "the little ones." . . . The Indians go at night to say their prayers. Their priest assumes the voices of the two children and asks for what he needs for their use. He threatens that if they do not do as they are told they will be punished suddenly with snake bites." The letter to the Viceroy has a political bearing. Father Hidalgo, who had labored as a missionary in Texas, was forced out in October, 1693. Later he worked strenuously to have the missions along the Rio Grande restored but met with no success until he learned that the French in Louisiana were pressing westward, and he at once wrote to the Viceroy about it. The Viceroy, alarmed, "issued orders for sending out soldiers and missionaries, and . . . the zealous Hidalgo was chosen as one of the workers." But owing to the unwillingness of the Indians to locate in pueblos the missionaries could instruct them only with difficulty. Father Hidalgo next proposed to try to convert the fierce Apaches, who were difficult for the Spaniards to control. But the task was deemed by his superiors too hazardous and he retired, old and broken in health, to San Juan Bautista where he died in 1726 at the age of seventy-seven. The letter to the Viceroy translated in the Quarterly supplies information about the Tejas Indians and their country. He points out, in a final warning against the French, that "it is also important to explore the mouth of the Rio del Misuri, where the settlements of the French and the Illinois Indians are located . . . and to place a barrier against them so that they may not go further up the river to discover the advantages of settling. Their communication is altogether by way of the rivers and if a barrier be placed near the Illinois Indians at Natchitoches and at Bahia del Espiritu Santo, the French will be encircled as they have encircled the English of New Carolina."

The Southwest Review, "a magazine of discussion edited by members of the English staff of Southern Methodist University," and published at Dallas, Texas, is beginning in its January, 1928, issue a series of articles on "Old Spanish Missions in Texas," written by Frances Scarborough. It is certainly gratifying to find the Methodists taking an interest in old Catholic missions, and so far as one may

judge by the first article of the series, which is excellently written, the author is familiar with the literature of her subject and is actuated by sincere purpose of writing history and not propaganda. The article deals with San Francisco de la Espada Mission among the Texas Indians. Father Massenet, a Spanish priest, member of an expedition sent out by the Viceroy of New Spain to find La Salle's French settlement of Espiritu Santo (on Matagorda Bay southwest of Galveston), was the first to visit the region in 1689, returning the next year to found the first of seven missions that he proposed to establish. The Spanish authorities were planning for colonization and the exclusion of other Europeans from the territory.

"Three days subsequent to the choice of the mission site, as the result of heroic effort, the church and military buildings were completed, and the soldiers immediately moved into them all those supplies which were to be left for the priests: twenty loads of flour, plows and plowshares, axes, spades and 'other little things' with which to begin their life in the wilderness. Twenty cows and two yoke oxen completed their equipment, while that of the soldiers of the garrison consisted of nine of the King's horses, some firelocks, a barrel of powder and some shot." These little details give us a definite idea of what supplies were used by the missionaries in opening up new missions among the Indians. "A week from the celebration feast of Corpus Christi, on the morning of the first of June, Mass was celebrated, the Te Deum sung and the village consecrated to the glory of St. Francis." Although begun so auspiciously the Mission subsequently suffered from sickness and lack of food; the Indians became restless, and the mission was abandoned in 1694. Later attempts by the Spaniards to found missions were equally unsuccessful. A second paper is promised by the author, to deal with the fortunes of another mission established on the site of the first twenty-eight years later (1722).

**Spain and the Cherokee Indians in 1783-98.**—A writer in the North Carolina Historical Review for July, A. P. Whitaker, has given the results of his personal researches in the Spanish archives at Seville and Madrid upon a topic of considerable intricacy—the relations of the Spanish governor of Louisiana and West Florida, Baron de Carondelet, with the Cherokee Indians. "With the close of the American Revolution, Spain returned to the Floridas," he writes, "and renewed its ancient struggle with the advancing frontier of its Anglo-American neighbors to the north and east. As had been the case in earlier times, one of the most important of the stakes was the

control of the Indian tribes who inhabited the region between the white settlements of Georgia and the Carolinas on one hand, and on the other, the Spanish posts at St. Augustine and on the Gulf." The efforts of the tricky Carondelet were centered, during the period between his appointment December 30, 1791, and the conclusion of the treaty of San Lorenzo October 27, 1795, upon endeavors to embroil the Cherokees and other Indian tribes in a war against the new American government, "in order to compel the United States to relinquish the territory ceded by the Cherokee in the treaty of the Holston concluded in 1791. Carondelet had "convinced himself that the United States was preparing to invade Louisiana and determined to strike the first blow. Since the troops at his disposal were hardly adequate even for the policing of Louisiana and West Florida, an offensive would be impossible without the aid of the Southern Indians." One of the regions which he wished to prevent the Americans from occupying was a section that in recent years has been the subject of negotiations of a commercial character, namely Muscle Shoals. He failed in these efforts to force a war because the Spanish government was in no mood or condition to have a war with the United States. One of the questions answered in the article before us is: "Whether Spanish officials were responsible for Indian attacks on the American frontier (1793-94). The answer, so far as the Cherokee are concerned, is that, although the Spanish court never authorized the incitement of the Cherokee against the United States, Carondelet was in a large measure responsible for the hostilities that took place during his administration."

**First Benedictine Abbey in New England.**—The adjective "first," when occurring in the pages of an historical magazine, suggests antiquity; in this case it does not have that connotation. The first monastery of the Benedictine Order to be elevated to the rank of an abbey within the confines of New England is St. Anselm's, at Manchester, N. H. Rev. Hubert J. Sheehan, in the January issue of the Granite Monthly, gives an account of the ceremonies on December 21, in which the governor of the state, his council, the mayor of Manchester, and many clergy, both secular and regular, gathered to do honor to the first abbot, Rt. Rev. Bertrand Dolan, O.S.B. "Unlike other religious orders, the various monasteries of the Benedictine Order are distinct from each other. Each monastery governs itself and conducts its activities under the direction of an abbot who is elected to that position by the members of his community. The office of abbot has many privileges attached to it, among which is the privilege of wearing the episcopal insignia." A portrait of the Abbot attired



in his episcopal vestments accompanies the article. The Benedictine Order is the oldest of the religious orders in the Catholic Church, dating from the sixth century. "The great abbeys and cathedrals built under its auspices were remarkable for their beauty. Among those still extant that owe their existence to the Benedictines are Westminster Abbey and the Cathedrals of York, Durham and Canterbury in England."

**Letters of an Early Premonstratensian in New York State.—**

The letters of the Reverend Adelbert Inama, O. Praem., written in the middle of the nineteenth century from Utica, N. Y., and neighboring cities, are appearing in the Wisconsin Magazine of History. The fourth installment (December, 1927), gives his impressions of Utica in July, 1843, when he first arrived to take charge of a turbulent parish there; also an account of a mission trip undertaken in connection with plans of Dr. Henni, vicar-general of the Bishop of Cincinnati, for founding a German Catholic Seminary; and his missionary labors in Syracuse, Salina and Manlius. Pastors' salaries were low. "The combined congregations of Syracuse and Salina," he writes, "alone have promised a fixed annual salary of 400 dollars (1,000 fl. R. W.) and the surrounding congregations will contribute in proportion, so that a priest there, together with incidentals, would always be sure of 1,500-1,800 fl., but of course it is understood that he would provide his own room and board." A German-Irish parish three miles from Constableville, Lewis County, is thus described: "Here, as almost everywhere in New York State and also outside, Raffener has gathered together the German colonists, formerly widely scattered and mixed with other sects,<sup>2</sup> urged them on

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<sup>2</sup> The translator is probably responsible for this term, not the author.—WSM

and supported them financially in building a church. The landed proprietor of the region presented this church with fifty acres of land. It stands almost in the center of the county and holds 700 people. . . The nearest Catholic home is half a mile distant, the farthest eighteen or twenty miles. Most of the church members, therefore, come to service either by wagon or on horseback and it cannot be held before eleven o'clock. After services those who live farthest start for home, unless they intend to hear Mass and to take the sacrament on the following day, in which case they remain with the others for the afternoon catechetical instruction and vespers, and in the meantime sit around the church and eat the lunch which they have brought with

them." The priest must go on trips by railroad, thence "on a terrible country road in a miserable stage-coach. A weak heart or nerves could not stand the bumping and I myself was almost lame in the thighs the first few times. It is still worse when I have to make the trip in a farm wagon. The first time I was obliged to hold on to the driver continually for fear of any minute being thrown from the wagon."

WM. STETSON MERRILL.

*The Newberry Library, Chicago.*

# NECROLOGY

## GEORGE E. BRENNAN

Outstanding as a public citizen George E. Brennan's funeral on August 10 from Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church was the tribute of thousands of loving friends. The kindly character of the man had by his many good deeds won for him friends in every walk of life.

Born in Braidwood he rose by his own efforts to a position of prominence, beloved and admired by thousands.

Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph A. Casey, pastor, who also preached the funeral sermon.

## REV. WILLIAM P. LYONS, S. J.

The Reverend William P. Lyons, S. J., founder of Loyola University Press, died August 20, at Alexian Brothers Hospital. His funeral took place from St. Ignatius Church with burial in All Saints Cemetery.

With the exception of two years teaching at St. Mary's College, Kansas, all of his active life had been spent in Chicago. This connection with St. Ignatius College and Loyola University for a quarter of a century made him one of the most important leaders in the Catholic educational field in the middle west. He was the founder of the Loyola University Press, which has proved of inestimable worth in the Catholic educational field.

## CLAUD G. BURNHAM

One of the outstanding figures in Chicago's transportation life in the person of Claude G. Burnham, executive vice-president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, passed away June 25th at his home, 536 Roslyn Road, Kenilworth, Ill. Mr. Burnham, who rose to a position of professional and civic prominence, was a convert to the Catholic faith.

His funeral took place at St. Francis Xavier Church, Wilmette, where Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated by the pastor, the Rev. Bernard Brady, assisted by the Rev. F. J. Wagner, the Rev. Patrick Griffin, deacon and sub-deacon, and the Rev. Patrick Gleeson as master of ceremonies. The Rev. Bernard Brady preached the sermon. Burial was in All Saints Cemetery, Desplaines.

Mr. Burnham was born in England forty-seven years ago, coming to the United States as a boy. He began his railroad career in 1895



with the Great Northern, entering the employ of the C., B. & Q. railroad in 1902. His wife, Mrs. Mary Gillis Burnham and three sons survive him.

#### REV. FRANCIS J. WALSH, C. M.

Hundreds of Chicagoans mourned the death of the Rev. Francis J. Walsh, C. M., widely known member of the Vincentian order, whose funeral was held from St. Vincent's Church, Saturday, July 7. Requiem High Mass was celebrated by the Rev. Marshall J. Le Sage, C. M., of Cape Girardeau, Mo.

Father Walsh was active in the establishment of the present St. Vincent's Church at Webster and Sheffield Avenues and one of the founders of St. Vincent's College, which later developed into De Paul University. In the establishment of the parish he was associated with the Rev. Edward N. Smith, C. M.

Born in Chicago in 1861, Father Walsh was ordained at St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, Mo. in 1895. Immediately after his ordination he was assigned to St. Vincent's Church, serving until 1900. Later assignments were St. Joseph's Church, New Orleans, St. Vincent's Church, St. Louis, and St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Mo.

#### REV. LEON WYRZYKOWSKI

Polish Catholics of Chicago were grieved over the passing of the Rev. Leon Wyrzykowski, pastor of St. Mary of Czestochowa Church since 1902, whose funeral was held on July 5.

Funeral services were held from St. Mary of Czestochowa and burial was made in Minneapolis, Minn., his home, where he was laid beside the remains of his mother and father.

Father Wyrzykowski was ordained in Baltimore in 1897, and in addition to St. Mary of Czestochowa parish he served the Polish parish of St. Mary's in Downer's Grove. Ill health compelled him to relinquish his pastorate and for the last three years he had been a patient at the Alexian Brothers Hospital.

#### REV. T. S. CONRON, S. J.

Hundreds of Catholic youth who came under the gentle and kindly guidance of the Rev. Thomas S. Conron, S. J., formerly principal of St. Ignatius High School, Chicago, grieved with others over his death July 19, at Oak Park Hospital after an illness of but two weeks. The Rev. William M. Magee, S. J., president of Marquette University, Milwaukee, presided at the office of the dead chanted by the clergy before the Requiem Mass in Holy Family Church, Chicago, July 21.

The Rt. Rev. E. F. Hoban, D. D., Bishop of Rockford, was present and gave the last absolution.

Rev. Father Conron for the last year had been principal of Marquette University high school, Milwaukee, and was re-appointed for the coming year. He was born in Chicago, was educated at St. Ignatius College, entering the Jesuit Seminary at Florissant, Mo., in 1908. He was ordained in 1922. Following his teaching period at John Carroll University, Cleveland, he was appointed principal of St. Ignatius high school, Chicago, a position he held until his appointment to Milwaukee last year.

#### MRS. MARGARET PARKER

Parishioners and friends of the Rev. George A. Parker, D. D., pastor of St. Felicitas Church, condoled with him in the death of his mother, Mrs. Margaret Parker, whose funeral was held August 6 from St. Ambrose Church, where Solemn High Mass was sung by her son. Fifty priests of Chicago were present in the sanctuary.

Mrs. Parker was born in Waterford, Ireland. She was beloved by scores of friends who admired her sterling qualities of mind and heart.

She was the wife of the late George Parker, mother of Father Parker, Dr. John Parker, Sister Mary Margaretta, Sister of Mercy; Mrs. P. J. McShane and Mrs. Francis Kelly.

#### DR. EUGENE CLANCY

Military significance was given to the funeral of the late Dr. Eugene G. Clancy, 4009 Wilcox Street, when scores of former service men gathered at St. Mel's Church August 4.

Dr. Clancy was a brother of the Rev. James J. Clancy, pastor of Immaculate Conception Church, Fulton, Ill. He was a member of Verdun post, American Legion, James Shields council, Knights of Columbus, and St. Charles Court, C. O. F.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Anna D. Clancy, his mother, Mrs. Mary Clancy, and five brothers and sisters.

#### EDWARD J. EVANS

The death of Edward J. Evans, international vice-president of the Electrical Workers' Union, was a loss to friends in the labor movement. Mr. Evans represented the American Federation of Labor in many matters throughout the United States.

The Rev. J. W. R. Maguire, C. S. V., president of St. Viator College, a staunch defender of the laboring man, paid a strong tribute

to Mr. Evans at his funeral held at Our Lady of Peace Church. Burial was in Holy Sepulchre cemetery.

Members of his family include his wife and three daughters.

### MRS. ELIZABETH JANE DUNNE

Mrs. Elizabeth Jane Dunne, wife of former Governor of Illinois, Edward F. Dunne, passed away at the family residence, 737 Gordon Terrace, on Saturday at 5 P. M.

A daughter of a pioneer Chicagoan, Mrs. Dunne was married to Illinois' former Governor and former Mayor of Chicago, August 16, 1881, and throughout the career of her husband, she proved an ideal helpmate, assisting him through their early married life when he was a struggling young lawyer, as a confidante and adviser, and witnessing his rise in the high legal circles of the city, followed by his incumbency of the office of chief executive of the city of Chicago and governor of Illinois. As the first lady of Illinois, she won the admiration of all invited to the many social functions conducted by her during her husband's term as governor. Mrs. Dunne was the mother of thirteen children, nine of whom survive, Edward F. Dunne, Jr., of Morristown, N. J.; Richard, Mrs. Wm. J. Corboy, Mrs. A. G. Leonard, Maurice, Jerome, Geraldine, Jeanette and Eugene.

### REV. E. T. MALLON, C. S. P.

The Rev. Edward T. Mallon, C. S. P., whose first assignment was as assistant at St. Mary's (Paulist) Church, Wabash Avenue and Ninth Street, Chicago, following his ordination at the Paulist novitiate, Washington, D. C., died in Philadelphia August 27. His funeral was held from St. Mary's Church, Chicago, where Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. Joseph McSorley, superior general of the Paulist fathers.

Father Mallon was born in San Francisco, February 8, 1880, and was educated at St. Mary's College, Oakland, Cal., completing his studies for the priesthood at the Paulist novitiate, Washington, D. C.

In addition to his Chicago assignment he served indefatigably the parishes of St. Lawrence at Minneapolis and St. Mary's Church, San Francisco.

### GEORGE W. McCABE

George W. McCabe, president of the Lake View State Bank at Clark Street and Belmont Avenue, passed away peacefully while asleep at his home, 1118 Albion Avenue, on February 29.



Born near Brimfield, Ill., March 1, 1863, Mr. McCabe was a charter member of Chatsworth Council, Knights of Columbus, and served as treasurer of that council for ten years. Coming to Chicago in 1910, he transferred his membership to DeSoto Council, one of the leading councils on the north side of the city, and continued his activities throughout his life. Through his advice and splendid financial leadership, acting as co-trustee, DeSoto Council purchased a most excellent site for a building, 125foot frontage on Belmont Avenue, adjacent to the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, for \$25,000, which today is valued at \$125,000.

#### MRS. MARY O'HARA YOUNG

Mrs. Mary O'Hara Young, for sixty years a resident of Chicago, died February 23, 1928, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. P. J. Bee, 399 Fullerton Parkway. She was 70 years old.

Mrs. Young was the mother of several well known Chicagoans and is survived by twenty-five grandchildren. Her children are: Mrs. Bee, wife of the vice president of Lawrence Stern & Co.; Mrs. Edward Gueroult, wife of the vice-president of the Straus Brothers Company; Charles J. Young, vice-president of S. W. Straus & Co.; Sergt. Patrick H. Young of the Police department, Policeman Louis C. Young, Mrs. Michael Loftus, and Mrs. Thomas King.

GERTRUDE A. KRAY.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## Book Reviews

**The John Askin Papers**, Vol. I: 1747-1795, edited by Milo M. Quaife, Secretary-Editor The Burton Historical Collection. Detroit Library Commission, 1928, pp. 657.

This portly royal octavo volume is the first of a series to be known as the Burton Historical Records, the purview of which is to make accessible in printed form to student and general reader a part at least of the well-known collection of source-material on Northwest history gathered through long years of research by Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit and now installed in the Detroit Public Library. The value of this collection not only for Detroit local history but also for the general picturesque and colorful pioneer story of the entire Great Lakes region has long been known to the researcher; it is the merit of the serial publication now projected that it will bring to the notice of the general public the extent and character of the historical treasures assembled in one of the great archival depositories of the country.

The Askin Papers, consisting of the correspondence, records, and miscellaneous documentary pieces left behind by John Askin (1738-1815), a Detroit resident of Irish birth, is an outstanding feature of the Burton Historical Collection. The Askins were originally of Scotch stock, kinsmen, according to family tradition, of John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who headed the rising of 1715 in favor of the old Pretender. John Askin was for years a merchant engaged largely in the fur and Indian trade at Detroit and other points and the chief factor determining the publication of his papers in this initial volume of the Historical Records is the circumstance, in the words of the editor, Mr. Milo M. Quaife, "that John Askin's activities over a period of half a century in the Northwest were so manifold that his personal papers illustrate practically every aspect of the life of his times in the region of the upper lakes" (p. 4). In addition to the selections from the Askin letters the editor has reproduced three French documents, with English translation, illustrating primitive Detroit history and bearing the editorial captions, "A land grant," "A marriage dot," and "A sale of real estate."

Everybody knows the glamour and charm that the French occupation has thrown on the beginnings of certain of our middle western cities. Detroit is perhaps the most characteristic instance in point. Associations of fascinating interest cling to the Gallic family-names

that filled the records of Cadillac's eighteenth-century town when it was little more than a stockaded fort on the northern bank of "the Strait"; and these same names, represented here for generations, are today, as Mr. Quaife tells us, "of frequent occurrence in the daily press." John Askin married into a French Catholic family of Detroit, the Barthes; moreover, his relations in a business way with the French residents of Detroit were constant with the result that the names of many of them occur repeatedly in his correspondence. This gives the editor occasion to present in foot-notes a vast deal of valuable genealogical and other detail regarding the always interesting Campaus, Cicottes, Godfroys, Beaubiens, Chapotous, Tremblays, and other early French families of Detroit.

Illinois readers will be interested in "Hugh Heward's Journal from Detroit to the Illinois, 1790," found among the Askin papers and published for the first time in the volume under review (pp. 339-363). New light is thrown on early Chicago history on page 356, where the editor records details, presumably hitherto unpublished, regarding Jean Baptiste Point Sable, alleged first permanent settler on the site of Chicago. His house, which subsequently achieved local fame as the "Kinzie Mansion," stood on the north bank of the river at the foot of Rush Street. "In the spring of 1800," writes Mr. Quaife, "Sable sold his property at Chicago to Jean Lalime of St. Joseph for 6000 livres (about \$1,200). The original bill of sale with inventory of the property transferred, is still preserved in the Wayne County building at Detroit, and it discloses that Sable was a man of substance, with an extensive civilized establishment. The realty included a house 22 by 40 feet (the house, subsequently, of John Kinzie), a horsemill 24 by 36 feet, bakehouse, dairyhouse, poultry-house, smokehouse, a stable 24 by 30 feet, and a barn 28 by 40. The livestock comprised 30 head of cattle "Full grown," 2 mules, 44 hens, 38 hogs, and 2 calves. Among the household goods were such items as a French walnut cabinet with four glass doors, a bureau, four tables, a couch, two mirrors, eleven copper kettles, etc."

The editorial work in this volume reaches a high degree of excellence and measures up fully to the rigorous present-day requirements of scientific method in the presentation and elucidation of historical documents. Few if any contemporary students of Western history in the pioneer period command a wider range of accurate and informing detail than Mr. Quaife; and the present work is additional evidence of his attainments in this regard. Only in one instance does the writer permit himself a word of dissent, and this in connection



additional surnames introduced by the prefix *dit* (p. 20). While some of these were apparently veritable nicknames, the bulk of them cannot probably be called such. To quote a recognized expert in French-Canadian family-names, Oscar Collet writes in his General Index to the Archives in the Office of Recorder of Deeds in the County of St. Louis, Mo., St. Louis, 1876: "A nickname is an opprobrious or sportive appellation; a alias, an assumed name. In the class of names to which I refer there are no aliases and not many nicknames. Besides, a by-name or an alias is universally personal to the individual, not common to his family or descendants."

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

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**The Capture of Old Vincennes**, edited with Introduction and Notes by Milo M. Quaife. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1927.

The original narratives of George Rogers Clark and his opponent, Governor Henry Hamilton, constitute an important contribution to the History of the United States and particularly the Illinois Country. The book herein reviewed contains the personal record of the chief contestants in the struggle for the supremacy of the Northwest territory, meticulously embellished and elucidated by copious notes of the author. This narrative account of the daring military exploits of Clark, which have given five states to the nation, would have been lost to posterity had he failed to respond to the very earnest solicitation of President Madison. An examination of the original report of the conquest of this vast inland empire is complete, authentic and modestly written. It has been unfortunate that hitherto the account was barely intelligible except to those painstaking historians who had the courage and tenacity of purpose to struggle through Clark's wretched spelling and slightly improved chirography and diction.

Milo M. Quaife, undertaking the somewhat difficult task to clarify and simplify Clark's account of his heroic deeds, has succeeded in making this fascinating original historical classic now available for the general reading public. A pleasant surprise is in store for the reader who compares the original with the improved rendition of Dr. Quaife. When the reader has finished this stirring account (and in most cases this is done in a single night's perusal) he can then appreciate the splendid service performed by the author in so rendering Clark's account in simple, grammatical English, without changing its meaning one iota, that it can be understood and enjoyed by the average American.

It might be apropos for the reviewer to say something of the book generally. It contains a scholarly introduction and the historical notes with which it abounds furnish ample proof of the author's historical erudition of the Illinois country. These footnotes do not detract from the interest of the book but make it all the more alluring. They cover a vast historical field, giving brief but full accounts of many interesting and important characters in the history and development of the Northwest territory.

The book is intended as a tribute to George Rogers Clark—perhaps somewhat belated but very appropriate at this time as we stand on the very threshold of the Sesqui-Centennial Anniversary of Clark's conquest of the Northwest, which will be fittingly observed on February 25, 1929, in "Old Vincennes."

What this famous little empire builder lacked in military training and technical knowledge, he more than made up in zeal and innate capacity to command. He surveyed the vast expanse of territory to the west of Virginia with an eager, if not intuitive prophetic vision. It would be preposterous for us to proclaim that he or anyone else dreamed, at that time, of the great, fertile and populous states which were enshrined potentially within this vast wilderness. No one, even from Marquette down, could have imagined that some day upon the storm tossed and deserted shores of one of the lonely lakes should rise what is destined to be the largest city in the United States, if not of the world. But to him, more than to any other man, can be attributed the conquest of the United States of this stretch of territory which, but for his military genius, would have been left under the domineering sway of the English.

In 1777 he laid his daring project before a rather credulous but alert committee in Virginia. Its members were quick to grasp the possibilities and in a short time he was ordered to proceed to Kentucky and take measures for the defense of the colonists on the border with such troops as he could enlist. A private message, however, gave him authority to take and hold Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and the whole Northwest territory. With a handful of men, after several daring military strokes, he captured a number of the larger forts and towns in this locality. He found it occupied mostly by the French, but garrisoned by English soldiers. Kaskaskia was the first important fortress to fall, and among its inhabitants was a certain Roman Catholic priest named Father Gibault, who agreed to go to Vincennes to secure the allegiance of the populace to the new American government. This venerable priest loyally fulfilled his commission and, without the

loss of a drop of blood, the French residents willingly assented to the change of government. This was only one example of the loyalty of the French Catholics to the American cause, and perhaps without them, the success of Clark's expedition would have been very doubtful, if not wholly unsuccessful.

The tact and diplomacy shown by Clark in his relations with the hostile Indians, and the sometimes indifferent French, baffles anything we have read of the diplomats of the European school. His keen and incisive understanding of human nature, particularly that of the Indians, and his military astuteness would do credit to any of our great generals.

His decision to undertake the capture of Fort Sackville in the dead of winter, necessitating long marches over swollen and partially frozen rivers that overran the prairies for miles around, is comparable to the courage of Napoleon and the daring of Hannibal in their successful efforts to conquer the Alps. The dispatch with which he carried out his determination to capture General Hamilton and his men would have done credit to Scipio Africanus. Perhaps he never heard of the latter, but at any rate his methods were those advocated by the famous Roman general. The march to the fort was one of the most memorable undertaken under the American flag. The weather was cold, damp and rainy, and the prairies were turned into lakes and quagmires. Led by the indomitable Clark the heroic troops struggled for ten days through water and ice, having enjoyed neither sufficient food nor rest during all of this time. When the men reached the objective of their long anabasis they were literally starving, having had no provisions for two days. There was a brief siege in which Clark, although clearly outnumbered, showed himself more resourceful than his opponent. We marvel at the defiant terms of surrender proposed by the imperturbable Clark, and even more so, at the courage with which he demanded their fulfilment. It was many years later when another famous citizen from the same Illinois territory aroused the world with the phrase "unconditional surrender." Such was the attitude of his great predecessor, General Clark.

The book is replete with many other dramatic situations that sweep the reader along in a maelstrom of historical events. There is no one climax, but there are several. It would be difficult to find a more heroic achievement in our history than Clark's capture of Vincennes, or of greater results from slenderer means than his subjugation of the Northwest.

Apparently with the intention of giving the reader an opportunity to view the conquest from both sides and to weigh well all the histori-



cal facts, the author has added to the modest account of Clark, the somewhat apologetic report of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton to the Crown. His control and sway over this vast expanse of territory was, due to the daring activities of the redoubtable Clark, short-lived. It is not at all surprising that the accounts of the chief participants are in direct conflict with one another. This gives the impartial reader an opportunity to consider the viewpoints of both sides.

All in all, the little book makes mighty interesting history—a worthy rival in style and interest to the books of the great American historian, William H. Prescott. The reader will find it an important addition to his library, not alone for its historical value, but also for its interest. It should possess a particular appeal to students of early Illinois history. Many characters closely identified with the early Catholic history of this state are introduced to the reader. A Catholic, proud of the part played by his people in the history of this state, cannot overlook this book. One is impressed with the loyalty of the early French Catholics to the great cause of human liberty and their important contribution cannot be belittled or gainsaid.

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**The Gateway to American History**, by Randolph G. Adams. Little, Brown & Company. 1927.

A more appropriate and significant title could not have been selected for this very valuable book. It is a most entertaining bit of early American History and is instructive and wholesome as well. The idea embodied in the book was conceived by Mr. Randolph G. Adams, librarian of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. The text is made subsidiary to the many beautiful illustrations and cuts which have been selected from many old books. The author has had access to many of the old histories and has culled from them, with great care, the illustrations indicative of every phase of the early explorations and the establishment of the colonies. These pictures, along with the explanatory text, form a complete pictorial record of the early discoveries and settlements. The pictures have an added significance when we consider that they were published hundreds of years ago in the books and papers that were then in circulation. We are able to visualize the discoveries, the adventures of Columbus, Captain John Smith, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Champlain, as they were seen through the eyes of contemporary artists, many of whom actually experienced these adventures on their trips of

exploration. The cuts were stored up and hidden as engravings in books that are today of the greatest value and greatest rarity, but, until the present time, were little known to the general public. They were sketched when the old world, particularly England, was filled with the voyages and discoveries written by Hakluyt and the wonders that had been seen by Raleigh, by Drake, by Frobisher and Hawkins. The real importance and value of the drawings at this time lie in the fact that they were conceived at a time when the imagination had been touched and kindled by the new explorations. Beyond the far horizon were hidden and unknown lands; strange but flowery shores lie beyond the uncharted seas. Toward these unknown and beckoning shores were turned the prows of adventure; all that had been seen and discussed by the returning adventures fanned the imagination with flame, and this had its corresponding effect on the literary and artistic world, the result being many of these fine engravings which were intended for the instruction and edification of those who remained at home but desired to know more of the newly discovered wonders.

It has been the singular task of Mr. Adams to bring to light these treasures of forgotten lore. His style is both lucid and entertaining, and suggests that of the ideal lecturer. His glowing account of the early discoveries and explorations, the hardships encountered by the daring sailors and self-sacrificing colonists, the shrewd transactions and bloody struggles of the imperturbable settlers with the American Indian, the glowing account of the heroic deeds of the early Catholic missionaries who came, not for gold or for riches, nor for fame and honor, but to win new souls for God—are all very inspiring. The accompanying narrative as a complement to the engravings suggests a very happy combination.

It occurs to me that "The Gateway to American History" would serve very well as a handbook for both teacher and pupil in the history of the early discoveries and the colonial period of this country. While it is not intimated that it should be used as a text book, I have no doubt that it would make a very valuable and attractive reference book.

The student of early American History will find it a very important contribution, for it lays a splendid foundation for the proper understanding and appreciation of the later development of the newly discovered country.

JOHN A. ZVETINA, A. B., J. D.

*Chicago*



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